



TITLE:

Ernest F. Fenollosa's "Notes for a History of the Influence of China upon the Western World" : a Link between the Houghton and the Beinecke Library Manuscripts

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Akiko Murakata

Beginning his 145-page notes, one of the few literary manuscripts among the Fenollosa papers in the E. G. Stillman collection at the Houghton Library, Harvard University,¹ Fenollosa made clear the date and the occasion of his preparing them: "(first) as presented before Seminar A— whose special investigation is 'The Influence of the East upon English Literature in the XVIII and XIXth Centuries.' Dec. 18th 1900." Though the notebook was misleadingly labeled, "Written while studying at Columbia College, New York, with Dr. Hirth, 1901,"² in the catalogue for the auction at the Walpole Galleries in January, 1920, Dr. Friedrich Hirth, the German Sinologist, had not become Professor of Chinese until 1902.³ "Seminar A" is also mystifying as it was officially given by Prof. George E. Woodberry in 1901-02 at Columbia University.⁴ A possible explanation is that there was a sort of special course outside the regular curriculum of the university during the preceding winter of which Fenollosa was a member. Fenollosa in fact

claimed to have spent "the winter of 1900-01 in New York, taking a special course in Comparative Literature under Prof. Woodberry at Columbia University."⁵ The Massachusetts poet, critic, and professor, taught literature, 1891-99, and comparative literature, 1900-04, there, leaving a deep mark on university teaching in his field by innovative methods before resigning his chair for a career of a lecturer and author.⁶

The above assumption seems to be corroborated by references to "Prof. Woodberry's course at Columbia" in several of the Fenollosa manuscripts filed at the Beinecke Library, Yale University.⁷ In closing his "Thoughts on Chinese Poetry—matter for essays," listing the difficulties causing the Western misunderstanding of the Oriental art, Fenollosa wrote: "It is necessary that some one who loves poetry for its own sake, and who loves English poetry for its specific poetic qualities, should try to interpret something of Chinese poetry in English verse. All the foregoing remarks apply with almost equal force to Japanese poetry (examples) (Prof. Woodberry's course in Comp. Literature)."⁸

He also referred to "my experience of Prof. Woodberry's course in Comparative Literature at Columbia University" in his draft of "Lecture I. The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry"; "there the innovation is made to teach Poetry as a branch of Art, not in mere subserviency to linguistics. In such recent publications as Longman's new series on the Athenian Drama, too, we note success in freeing the spirit of Poetry from the latter."⁹ His synopsis of the above lecture

Ernest F. Fenollosa's "Notes for History of Influence of China upon the Western World" has the following jottings: "Chinese literature especially valuable and rich. Must enter into new conception of 'Comparative Literature.' Great course at Columbia (Prof. Woodberry). Recent endowing of Chinese chairs.... Must explain that I am no Sinologue (Comp. Lit.). Represent a Japanese school of approach—authorities. Last winter at Columbia, 'Japan as Key to Chinese mind.'"¹⁰

An even more striking correspondence is to be found in a notebook entitled in the hand of Fenollosa's widow Mary McNeil Fenollosa, "Chinese Intercourse. Notes taken on Confucius and Kn[owledge] of Chinese, *taken for Seminar A.* [my italics] at Columbia Library, Vol. I."¹¹ Among the 175-page notes on the history of intercourse between China and the West, bibliographical and biographical, there is a three-page synopsis, "Preliminary Thoughts on Western knowledge of China,"¹² unmistakably of the Houghton Library manuscript under discussion.

Once we assume the existence of "Seminar A" as such, the three dated manuscripts at the Beinecke Library attract our attention in relation to it: "Notes for a General Article on Chinese Poetry begun 14 October, 1900,"¹³ the first 38 pages of "Chinese Poetry Notes," dated 31 October, 1900,¹⁴ and "Chinese Ideals. 15 November, 1900."¹⁵ These, together with the above "Chinese Intercourse" at the Beinecke Library, and "Notes for a History of the Influence of China upon the Western World" at the Houghton Library, once formed integral parts of Fenollosa's preparation for, and contribution to, the same special course at Columbia University. The first and the last two are apparently

drafts of papers he presented before Prof. Woodberry and his fellow members of the seminar.

Fenollosa's letter of 19 February, 1901 to Joel E. Spingarn, professor of comparative literature at Columbia, 1899-1911, hints at the premature close of the elusive "Seminar A." Thanking Spingarn for "the catalogue extract" and "the list of Harlez's works on China," Fenollosa added: "Now that the Seminary [sic] is cut off in its youth, I regret that I have no regular opportunity of meeting you."¹⁶ C. de Harlez, *Yih King, A new translation from original into French* (Woking, 1896) is listed in the bibliography appended to the notes begun 14 Oct. 1900 cited above. Spingarn was a founding member in 1911 of the Woodberry Society of New York, whose primary object was "to preserve the association between George Edmund Woodberry and those friends whom he has bound to himself and to one another."¹⁷

A circular announcing "Illustrated Lectures on Japanese Art and Literature by Ernest F. Fenollosa," one of the recent additions to the Fenollosa papers at the Houghton Library presented by his grandson Mr. Owen Biddle, serves as another important link with the Fenollosa manuscripts at Yale. It introduces Fenollosa's activities around the turn of the century as follows:

In 1897 Mr. Fenollosa returned to Japan, where he has since been making a special study of Japanese and Chinese Poetry, under the guidance of leading native scholars. He has also lectured at the Imperial Normal School on the

History of English Literature. The winter of 1900-01 Mr. Fenollosa spent in New York, taking a special course in Comparative Literature under Professor Woodberry at Columbia University. Since then he has returned to Japan for new material, but proposes to spend the winter of 1901-02 in lecturing throughout America and England on the Oriental studies which he has been pursuing for the last twenty-three years.

The value of Mr. Fenollosa's lectures is something more than antiquarian. He speaks from direct experience, and with the enthusiasm of a pioneer, concerning the slow process, already begun, of a mingling of East and West, from which he prophesies a greater expansion of thought than has occurred since the era of Columbus.¹⁸

"Second Course: Japanese and Chinese Poetry" was to contain the following six lectures:

I. The Chinese Written Character as a Medium of Literature

Structure. Value of a visible etymology. Condensation. What the Chinese sentence expresses. The evolution of the parts of speech. The element of imagination. Beauty of form.

II. The Spirit of Japanese Classic Poetry

The Japanese syllabary. The Japanese sentence. Rhythms. Stanzas. Double metaphors. Attitude toward man and nature. Lyrics from the first three periods of Japanese culture.

III. The Spirit of Chinese Poetry

Pronunciation. Rhythms. Rhyme. Forms of stanza. Parallelism. Subjects and treatment. The evolution of

Chinese schools in poetry.

IV. The Poet Rihaku and His Successors

State of culture in the eighth century. Rihaku as a critic of his age. His life, work, editions. Other poets.

V. The Japanese Lyric Drama

Religious dances. Court pantomime. Buddhist miracle plays. The comic interlude. The Chinese drama of the Mongols. Poetry. Music. Costume. Chorus. Transmission to the present day.

VI. Examples of the Japanese Lyric Drama

The epic groups. The Shinto or "spirit" group. The Buddhist or social group. The Loyalty group. The love group. The comedies. The idyls.

Together with "First Course: The History of Japanese Art, including an Outline of the History of Chinese Art," the two courses of lectures were "specially prepared for the needs of University and extension work."¹⁹

A fragment of Fenollosa's draft of the above with slight variations from the printed version is preserved at the Beinecke Library.²⁰ Though the circular has no date and no place, we may presume that it was published in 1901, possibly during his last sojourn in Japan, 14 May—21 September, as a prospectus for the lectures to be given during the winter of 1901-02 at Columbia University.

Fenollosa may have had to "vary the proportions of the parts from those of my first draft in the circular."²¹ He determined the final order of his first lecture, "The Chinese Written Char-

Ernest F. Fenollosa's "Notes for History of Influence of China upon the Western World" acter as a Medium of Literature," from analyses of "Previous materials," i. e. "previous rough draft"²² and "New York general article (begun 14 October, 1900)."²³ Fenollosa's final draft²⁴ became the basis of the famous essay, "The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry,"²⁵ to be edited and published by Ezra Pound, who hailed it as "a study of the fundamentals of all aesthetics"²⁶ and "one of the most important essays of our time."²⁷

Though Mr. Hugh Kenner suggested the probable date of Fenollosa's "presumably undelivered" lecture to be about 1904,²⁸ concurred with by Mr. Tomiichi Takata in his recent study,²⁹ we have the author's own testimony that "I gave it at Columbia in 1901."³⁰ I should give a special tribute to the insight of Mr. Loy D. Martin who dated the essay "around 1902" strictly from internal evidence in his "Pound and Fenollosa: the problem of influence."³¹

By June 1901 there was much public interest in the "proposed new Chinese department in Columbia University."³² The Dean Lung Fund of \$ 212, 000 for the founding of a Department of Chinese languages, literature, religion, and law was announced to the Trustees on 7 October. Prof. Herbert A. Giles of University of Cambridge was invited to deliver a series of lectures upon the Dean Lung foundation during the winter of 1901-02. Dr. Friedrich Hirth of Munich was appointed to the newly endowed chair of professorship on 1 July, 1902.³³ Fenollosa may have had his share of the Dean Lung fund during the period of preparation for the Chinese department preceding

the appointment of Dr. Hirth.

Fenollosa had written in the final draft for his lecture on the Chinese character the following passage which Pound chose to omit in editing it:

It is a satisfaction to know that American Education appreciates its present opportunity of inaugurating Chinese studies. The University of California has well taken the lead, appropriately on the Pacific Coast, in the rich courses which it offers upon the Chinese Language. And now, Columbia following with a special endowment, will doubtless furnish a model for other such foundations in the near future. And it is an added satisfaction to know that the responsibilities of these new chairs are as broadly conceived in the field of general culture, as in the narrower direction of Linguistic research. After all, language is not an end, but a means; and in such courses as those of Professor Woodberry at Columbia, in Comparative Literature, we see how possible it is to avoid letting the dry routine of the difficult mastering of words crush out the very spirit of the Poetry which they should embody. With me, then, the subject is *Poetry*, and not Language; and yet it must be in the soil of language itself that one must carefully uncover the delicate roots of Poetry.³⁴

In my search for "Seminar A," winter of 1900, I seem to have come upon the genesis of the famous essay on the Chinese character. The evolution of Fenollosa's original draft into the series of subsequent lectures on Chinese poetry³⁵ would be another story. Fenollosa's chronicle of China's impact on Europe, which I am to transcribe in the following pages, shares the hopeful vision at the turn of the new century and the contem-

Ernest F. Fenollosa's "Notes for History of Influence of China upon the Western World" porary concern for China in the wake of the Boxer Rebellion, providing a historical perspective for Pound's "Ars Poetica." My humble effort was to show how the manuscripts and papers separated between the two libraries and even stray fragments and scattered references among multiple files may throw some light on each other, illuminating their hidden interrelationship, once seen from an integrating point of view. It has been of great help to verify names, dates and titles, some of which are almost illegible, in this Houghton Library manuscript by Fenollosa's related notes at the Beinecke Library, especially those "taken for Seminar A. at Columbia Library, Vol. I."³⁸

Interrelated Fenollosa Manuscripts and Papers

BL = The Beinecke Library

HL = The Houghton Library

Notes for a General Article on Chinese Poetry. begun 14 October, 1900. (BL, Folder No. 33²¹)
A. MS. 8p.

Chinese Poetry Notes, pp. 1-38. 30 October, 1900. (BL, Folder No. 16¹)
A. MS. 39p.

Chinese Ideals. 15 November, 1900. (BL, Folder No. 4)
A. MS. 15p.

Chinese Intercourse. Notes taken for Seminar A. at Columbia Library, Vol. I ("Preliminary Thoughts on Western Knowledge of China," pp. 76-78.). c. Nov.- Dec. 1900. (BL, Folder No. 5)
A. MS. 175p.

Notes for a History of the Influence of China upon the Western World: (first) as presented before Seminar A-- whose special investigation is "The Influence of the East upon English Literature in the XVIII & XIXth Centuries." 18 December, 1900. (HL, bMS Am 1759. 2 (67))
A. MS. 145p.

Notes and drafts prepared for Prof. George E. Woodberry's Seminar A, Columbia University.

Thoughts on Chinese Poetry-- matter for essays. (BL, Folder No. 12)
A. MS. 5p.

III. The Spirit of Chinese Poetry, etc. (BL, Folder No. 35⁹¹)
A. MS. 1p.

Illustrated Lectures on Japanese Art and Literature by Ernest F. Fenollosa. (HL, pfMS Am 1759. 4 (1), 2))
Printed Circular. 8p.

Plan for Six Lectures on Chinese and Japanese Poetry. Chinese Poetry Notes, pp. 56-58. (BL, Folder No. 16²)
A. MS. 3p. + 9p. (list of plates)

Chinese and Japanese Poetry. Lecture I. The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry (First Draft). (BL, Folder No. 6¹⁺²)
A. MS. 163p.

Abstract. Illustrated Lectures on Japanese Art and Literature. 2nd Course. Japanese and Chinese Poetry. (BL, Folder No. 6³)
A. MS. 78p.

The Chinese Written Language as a Medium for Poetry. (Final Draft). (BL, Folder No. 32)
A. MS. 78p.

Comments, at Washington, on reading over the form of my Chinese Lecture. 15 March, 1903. (BL, Folder No. 35⁹¹)
A. MS. 2p.

"The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry," *Little Review*. VI, 5-8
(September-December, 1919).

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- 1 See Murakata, "The Ernest F. Fenollosa Manuscripts at the Houghton Library, Harvard University: a Catalogue with an Introduction," *Review of English Literature*, XL (January, 1979), pp. 78-110. For his other literary manuscripts, see Murakata, "Ernest F. Fenollosa's 'Ode on Re-incarnation,'" *Harvard Library Bulletin*, XXI, 1 (January, 1973), pp. 50-72; "Ernest Fenollosa's Poems from Japan," *Koka Gakkai Bulletin*, 2 (May, 1978) pp. 30-37; "Ernest F. Fenollosa's 'Preliminary Lectures on The Theory of Literature,'" *Review of English Literature*, XLI (March, 1979), pp. 66-164.
- 2 Item No. 56, *Library and MSS. of the Late Prof. Ernest F. Fenollosa, to be sold. . . 27 and 28 January, 1920, the Walpole Galleries, New York*, Catalogue No. 139, p. 14.
- 3 See p. 39, n. 33.
- 4 "Professor Woodberry's course, called Seminar A, took place in two parts at Columbia in 1901-02. The catalogue does not show the exact dates, but this would most likely mean the fall-winter session of 1901 and the spring session of 1902." Mr. Paul R. Palmer, Curator, Columbiana Collection, Low Memorial Library, Columbia University, letter to Murakata, 27 July, 1981. The materials cited in nn. 32 and 33 are from Columbiana Collection.
- 5 See p. 37, n. 18.
- 6 *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), Vol. XX, pp. 478-481.
- 7 The Fenollosa manuscripts, mostly on Japanese *No* plays and Chinese poetry, entrusted to Ezra Pound by Fenollosa's widow Mary McNeil Fenollosa, are now filed into some fifty-five folders at the Yale Rare Book and Manuscript Library.
- 8 "Thoughts on Chinese Poetry— matter for essays," Folder No. 12, p. 5.
- 9 Folder No. 6¹, pp. 4-5.
- 10 "Abstract. Illustrated Lectures on Japanese Art and Literature. 2nd Course. Japanese and Chinese Poetry." Folder No. 6³, pp. 27-28.
- 11 "Chinese Intercourse. Notes taken for Seminar A. at Columbia University." Folder No. 5.

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- 12 pp. 76-78.
- 13 Folder No. 33²⁾.
- 14 Folder No. 16¹⁾.
- 15 Folder No. 4.
- 16 Spingarn papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, The New York Public Library.
- 17 "Woodberry Society of New York," n. p., the Woodberry papers, the Rare Book and Manuscript Collection, Butler Library, Columbia University.
- 18 p. 2.
- 19 pp. 5-6.
- 20 Folder No. 35⁹⁾.
- 21 "Plan for Six Lectures on Chinese and Japanese Poetry," Folder No. 16²⁾, p. 56.
- 22 "Chinese and Japanese Poetry. Lecture I. The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry," Folder No. 6¹⁺²⁾.
- 23 n. 13 above.
- 24 "The Chinese Written Language as a Medium for Poetry," Folder No. 32.
- 25 *Little Review*, VI, 5-8 (September-December, 1919) ; *Instigations of Ezra Pound : Together with an Essay on the Chinese Character by Ernest Fenollosa* (New York : Boni and Riveright, 1920) ; *The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry by Ernest Fenollosa with a Foreword and Notes by Ezra Pound* (London : Stanley Nott ; New York : Arrow Edition, 1936).
- 26 Pound's Foreword to the above essay.
- 27 Pound to John Quinn, 10 January, 1917, D. D. Paige ed. *The Letters of Ezra Pound* (London : Faber and Faber, 1951), p. 154.
- 28 *The Pound Era* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, Calif. : Univ. of Calif. Press, 1971), p. 291.
- 29 *The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry* (Tokyo : Tokyo Bijutsu, 1982), p. 76.
- 30 "Comments, 15 March, 1903, at Washington, on reading over the form of my Chinese Lecture," Folder No. 35⁹⁾, p. 1.
- 31 *Critical Quarterly*, XX, 1 (Spring, 1980), p. 51.

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32 "Wu on the Chinese Chair. The Diplomat's View of the Columbia experiment," *The New York Evening Post* (14 June, 1901).

33 The Trustees of Columbia College in the City of New York. *Report of the Committee on Education on the Organization of a Department of Chinese and Resolutions Proposed*, 5 May, 1902, pp. 2-7.

34 n. 24, p. 4.

35 "Landscape Art and Poetry in China. [Lecture in San Francisco, 19 October, 1901]," Folder No. 33³.

"Notes for Lecture on Chinese Poetry, Bay View, 5 August, 1902," Folder No. 37.

"Recombined San Francisco Lecture on Chinese Landscape Poetry and Painting, put together January 1903 for Lecture VI," Folder No. 35^{6a}.

"Lecture VI (Course of Seven Lectures). Landscape Poetry and Painting in Medieval China (Washington D. C., 17 March, 1903), Folder No. 35¹; Nos. 36+34¹) (TS).

"Trial Analysis of Headings in Lecture 'The Natural Poetry of Language,' Winoua, 8 July, 1903," Folder No. 39.

"Notes that may be useful in expanding the Lecture on 'The Natural Poetry of Language, 10 July, 1903, Winoua," Folder No. 6³ (see n. 10 above), pp. 46-49.

"Lecture XV, Winoua, 1905. Early Chinese Poetry." Folder No. 35.

36 See n. 11 above.

This introduction, together with the following transcript, is part of the result of my research conducted at the Beinecke Library, Yale University, and the Houghton Library, Harvard University, July-September, 1981, under the co-sponsorship of the Japan- U. S. Educational Commission and the Council for International Exchange of Scholars. Quotations, as noted, are by the courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, the Beinecke Library, Yale University, Columbian Collection, Low Memorial Library, and the Rare Book and Manuscript Collection, Butler Library, Columbia University, Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection, the New York Public Library, and Mr. James Laughlin, Editor of New Directions Publishing Corporations.

Notes for a History of the Influence of China upon the Western World

(first) as presented before Seminar A— whose special investigation is “The Influence of the East upon English Literature in the XVIII & XIXth Centuries.”

Dec. 18th 1900

I have wished, for my own purposes to take the *Larger Subject*, but I could not exhaust it, as yet.

It has importance; for, at the opening of the XXth Century, the true understanding of China becomes the world's most serious problem, and we gain something by looking at past efforts toward it, *as a whole*.

It may be that, yet, we are at only a comparatively early stage in the process.

It may be that the process is to end in our getting from Chinese culture, at least as much as we give to it.

In that case, the value of studying past influences, is its prophecy upon future influences.

It ceased to be a matter of mere theoretical interest, and becomes practical.

In this sense, I wish to treat it.

For the earlier stages of the history, my authorities have

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been, chiefly—

1. Col. Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*. 2 vols. 1866
2. Yule's—Marco Polo—2 vols. 2d ed. 1875
3. Prof. Hirth's—China and the Roman Orient—1875
4. Dictionaries of Biography
5. Wenckstern, Bibliography of the Japanese Empire 1895
6. Cordier's—*Bibliotheca Sinica*. 2nd edition 1883
(we shall soon have the 3d edition of 1895)
7. The British Museum Catalogue
8. Luzac's Catalogue of Books on China
9. The Old Books themselves:—
 - a. The great coll[ection] of books on Language, Astor Lib[rary].
 - b. A few of the Jesuit publications
 - c. Some popular works in English, last century

There still remains much to look up. For ancient notices of China, the extracts given in Yule are sufficient for our present purpose. The chief books written between the 16th C, and the 19th should be examined in detail, and an analysis and rough criticism of their contents made. No time yet. The mass of minor Jesuit publications should be digested. English periodical and popular literature of the last century should be gradually searched. I can add something to all this from my general knowledge of Chinese history and culture.

The difficulty in all this consists in holding separate, and

yet together, the several partly conflicting interests;—

Geographical, industrial, *commercial*, ethnological, social, *historical*, moral, *religious*, artistic, literary, and *philological*.

It would be easier to concentrate on some one of these; and yet, in research, the eye must be open for any or all.

Speaking generally, it is the influence of Chinese *thought* and *culture* upon Europe, that is the most important. Even today Chinese ideals are to us almost unknown. We have ignored, we have despised, we have feared a possible influence; we still face it like a thing hidden in a mist. All the efforts of the last few centuries have hardly gone farther than to open the way. Obstacles have been removed. The serious study of the meaning of the culture has now to come.

In looking back over two thousand years, at the world's two great centres of civilization and thought, separated from each other at the Eastern and Western extremities of a single continent, their slow, stupid, and baffled efforts to get at each other, record what would seem a great world-tragedy, were it not that we are led to recognize something providential in the forces that have kept China isolated, until a day when scientific toleration and (even) sympathy can insure for her institutions' impartial study.*

*The science of navigation and steam, and general toleration, tend to go hand in hand.

It seems a tragedy, for at many stages of our history, it would have been so good for us to have known more of that wonderful world.

As the period of discovery of the 16th cent. enlarged the range of the European mind, chiefly by forcing it from its own limitations, so would it have been, and so will it be, when this unknown half of mankind has given us, in its wealth of peculiar experience, a larger and freer conception of humanity.

Future historians of our race, must look back to this awakening as epochal.

It is worth while, for a moment, to consider the power of the barriers which, for so many centuries have walled apart the Eastern and Western minds.

A. first come the *Physical Barriers*.

1. the long stretches of *ocean* in an era of imperfect navigation
2. the vast deserts and mountain ranges of *land* requiring time, strength, and wealth for the journey
3. and these two elements of *land* and *sea* united in that strange bar of the Suez Isthmus, which prevented for 2000 yrs. the Mediterranean fleets from sailing direct to India.

B. Next, the *Racial Barriers*

roughly Arabs and Scythians (general term), corresponding to the sea and land routes.

The Roman Empire never quite broke them down from the West, nor the Chinese Empires from the East

- (a), It might have been well to specify here a *Commercial Barrier*. Where such narrow interests as those of trade dominate, there is little mixing of races. Even so today in Yokohama. In modern times, great evils have arisen from

the commercial treaties—opium

C. more effectual still, the *Religious Barriers*

These are most remarkable, because China, on the whole, has been extremely tolerant. But the indifference of Christianity, in all but recent days, to Chinese belief, was more than equalled by the indifference to both of that strange fanatical Mohammedan wave which separated them geographically. It is thus, more than anything else, that prevented our getting an adequate knowledge of China in the middle ages through Arab sources.*

*The few Arabs who studied Chinese, were denounced as apostates.

D. But, 4th, we have to specialize a barrier of *Mental Stupidity* and *Prejudice*, on our own side.

Long after Western missionaries penetrated freely into the country, their own ineptitude and conventional conceptions prevented their seeing the truth.

I do not quite like to call it the *Missionary Bias*, because it is something deeper than that. It is part of the same backwardness which, ignoring a law of change and developement in all things, studied our own European institutions as well by the barren logic of Syllogisms down to the end of the last century.

The Missionaries studied Chinese customs to prove that the Chinese were the lost tribes of Israel. They translated Chinese ethical works in order to show that St. Thomas had planted the seeds of the gospel in that remote, ignorant

land.

And down even to today, the bias and the dislike to serious comparison have vitiated almost every effort. There is no doubt, in my mind, that all that splendid work, say of Legge, will have to be done over again, in the light, not of Christian problems, but of true Chinese ideals. Through all my work in the East, I have felt it as a cold, sarcastic repression and scorn, on the part of Europeans. And it is this unfortunate prejudice against the more serious understanding of the East that is responsible for many tragic features in the present embroglio at Peking.*

*Strange that, even yet, there should be so little knowledge of the Chinese soul. We want to know what China may give to us.

The unity of my treatment of my subject will be

The gradual *breaking down* of the *barriers*, and the consideration of those which still remain up.

The clearest way to see Unity in this movement, is to study it, not from the side of our confused and local European history, and the accidents of travel; but rather from the side of great underlying movements in Chinese history.

Moreover, we should remember that the subject is far greater than Bibliography or Philology; and that the records of books are chiefly valuable for their indications of wide streams of intercourse and influence, whose details have not been recorded.

I should say, then, that the influence of China upon the West has chiefly occurred, and could have chiefly occurred only in *four* of the great imperial dynasties of Chinese History.

These are

The Han Dynasty 202 B. C. to 220 A. D.

The Tang Dynasty 618 A. D. to 907 A. D.

The Mongol Dynasty 1260 A. D. to 1368 A. D.

The Manchu Dynasty 1644 A. D. to 1900 A. D.

If we add the total runs of these four dynasties, we shall find these periods to include, of the last 2100 years, a total of just half, or 1050 years. But when we consider that, under the first three of these dynasties, the intercourse with or influence upon Europe, covered only a portion of the dynastic period; we shall see that the added durations of this influence do not cover more than 750 years, or a little over a third of the whole. For nearly two thirds of the last two millenia, China has exerted almost no influence upon Europe.

Let us then classify our periods of influence as four, according to these dynasties, and consider them in this order.

What is common to all these dynasties, especially in their earlier stages, is great territorial extension toward the West. They nearly broke down the geographic barriers. If the Han dynasty had begun a century or two later, or the Roman Em-

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pire a century or two earlier, the generals of both would have met in Persia.

Before the Han Dynasty, the Chinese Empire was confined to a comparatively small district. During the intervals between these four dynasties, the Empire was either broken up into separate kingdoms, or relatively weak.

First Period

Let us begin, briefly, with the Han dynasty, roughly two centuries before Christ. During the next 400 years China became, in detail, more like what we know as China. In this period, Confucianism was first formulated as an administrative system. In this period writing took on its present form. But it was a narrow period in that all its ideas came from the old North of China; and it was an attempt to expand old clan traditions to an imperial scale. Buddhism, though introduced, took no hold till later.

The Europe which this China faced across the seas and deserts, was that of the late Roman Republic, and of the Roman Empire. After Christ, the Emperor of China, and the Emperor of Rome were the two supreme monarchs of the world. 3/4 of all the civilized peoples of the world were under their sway, and yet they could not meet.

A great importation of Chinese goods, however, already started, was enormously increased by the luxury of the Roman Empire. All the silk there used came, both as raw and piece

silk from China, though even much of the latter was picked apart, and rewoven and redyed into the transparent gauzes which the Romans loved, at Tyre and other ports of the Extreme Eastern Mediterranean. Besides this, Chinese iron was in demand. There was also a great stream of imports from India. The return wave of exports, which reached China at least, was composed largely of glass and enamels, false jewelry, and trinkets of metal and enamel combined, also rugs, which were largely the products of the great cities of the Asiatic provinces, particularly of Antioch, the Eastern Roman Capital.*

*But this was far from equalling the imports in value; and Pliny records that the yearly drain of specie from the Roman Empire, to India and China combined was 100,000,000 sesterces—equivalent to £ 1,000,000 sterling, which Hirth rightly believes to be, not an estimate of the total volume of commerce, but of the adverse balance of trade.

glass very precious in early days in China. Often mentioned in Chinese poetry (Chinese learned to make it about 450 A. D.)

Considering this prolonged commercial intercourse, beginning we know not when, but certainly centuries before Christ, it is astonishing how little, (as Dr. Remy said at our first meeting of the Knowledge of India), of accurate information concerning the Chinese has been recorded by Greek and Roman writers.

What the earliest Greek writers got about China, they got, probably from merchants who had travelled thither, or part of the way. Ptolemy speaks of Macedonian mercantile agents who made the journey. One of these named Maës had left notes of his trip, which apparently his predecessor Marinus of Tyre,

Ernest F. Fenollosa's "Notes for History of Influence of China upon the Western World" whose work is lost, had used. This material passed to Ptolemy.

What Col. Yule remarks of the double sets of names of the Chinese, by which they were known to the West, even from earliest times, is important. One of these sets has for its basis *Sin*—sometimes hardened into *Chin* (whence our "*China*"), sometimes softened into *Thin*. The other for its root, *Ser*, as in the forms *Seres*, *Sericae*, *Seric*, (whence comes our word "*silk*").

The interesting thing is that this duality corresponds to the Chinese as known by two separate routes of approach; the *Sin* group being always applied by those who deal with the sea routes; the root *Ser* with those who deal with the overland intercourse. Thus Maës, and the Macedonian agents went overland to the *Seres*, according to Ptolemy. Strabo and Mela speak of the *Seres*, and Mela places them in Central Asia, between the Scythians and the Indians, apparently corresponding to Chinese Turkestan, which very likely was the limit of overland travel from the West.*

*Name *Seres*, earlier and much more common, used vaguely by Latin poets of Augustan age. Mela and Pliny first try to locate them accurately near N. W. China.

Ammianus expands Ptolemy (4th C) (It is they, the *Seres* who export silk, furs & iron)

On the other hand, the author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean (Red) Sea*, speaks of *Thin*, and the Arabs generally knew China as *Sin*. *Thin* seems to be mentioned later than

Seres. All this seems to refer to the opening of a definite sea trade with China, by the Indian Ocean; at any rate a trade route that came to the Red Sea. When ocean trade was fully opened, it came from Southern Chinese ports, about the present Canton, or Amoy. And this, through the Arabs, became specially associated with the name *Sin*.*

*For Müller ascribes the "Periplus" to the 1st Century (A. D. 80-89). Marcianus, after Ptolemy, speaks of Sinae. Periplus (also) says silk comes from Thinae, overland through Bactria.

But the interesting thing is that apparently the ancients never understood the identity of these two names and people. For Ptolemy deliberately describes both as separate, saying that voyages are made to Sinae, and that travellers (by land) say that the Seres lie North of the Sinae. In this way they are usually placed separately on ancient maps.*

*Ptolemy, A. D. 150, got his term Sinae from Marinus of Tyre, who apparently also used both names (Sere & Sinae). Ptolemy quotes about Maës Titianus from Marinus, describes the overland route from report.

But this duality of names does not cease, even when, later, the names have been both changed. In the Mongol days, at the date of Marco Polo, those who approached China overland called it Khitai (whence our Cathay), and those who approached it by sea called it Manji, or still sometimes Sin.*

* In Russia, name still used—and apparently in India (See Kipling's *Kim*).

They were still recognized as two separate peoples and

Ernest F. Fenollosa's "Notes for History of Influence of China upon the Western World" empires. The identity of the two in our modern geography dates only from the 17th century, when the Jesuits, looking into old accounts, consciously attacked the problem.

But I can say that this duality is not caused, as Yule thinks, solely by difference of approach; but corresponds to a real difference in race and character between Northern and Southern Chinese, which shows itself again and again in their history. Before the Han dynasty, the Southerners were considered by the North almost outer barbarians. In almost all the intermediate periods of break up in China, a cleavage has come between Northern and Southern states, or groups of states, in the former of which, the Northern, Tartars tended to predominate. The line of cleavage runs down through Chinese culture, art, literature, religion, philosophy; and the ignoring of it counts for much in the mistakes of most Western students.*

*It points to the two different tendencies of socialism and individualism, Confucius & Taoism, materialism and idealism, ethics and art.

What knowledge existed before his day was gathered up by Pliny. Pliny recognizes an Eastern ocean (our Pacific) which bounds Asia on the East. He knows that the Chinese are a mild, civilized people, industrious, and just in trade, who export raw silk, piece silk, furs, and iron. He also knows about the splitting up of silk into gauze. That he didn't know much, is seen from his quoting from a traveller, that they have *red hair and blue eyes*. He also hears that silk is a kind of floss that grows on trees. This error Pausanias in the 2nd century

could correct, who knows that the thread is spun by insects.

Yule has a chapter entitled "Chinese Knowledge of the Roman Empire." Records of the Chinese are much fuller. Every report of their own or foreign travellers recorded. Chinese tried to enlist alliance of S. W. Asia against common enemy, Huns, in B. C. 135. By B. C. 59 Chinese power came nearly to Persia. In A. D. 94 the Chinese general reached the Caspian and the Persian Gulf. Sent a messenger to Tathsin, the Roman Empire. In the early days of Han, this extreme Western nation was called Likan. Also called *Kingdom of the Western Sea*. Its capital is Antu (Antioch), Parthians (Ansi) stand in way of direct communication. Middlemen are jealous.

But all this is not to our purpose except to show the possibility of communication. There is a clear Chinese official record that an embassy came by sea to China in A. D. 166, from the King of Tathsing, *Antun* (M. Aurel. Anton.). Parthians, apparently barred the land route.

So far Yule—but since his day, Professor Hirth has written his remarkable book. It first cites in full translation every Chinese record as to the West obtainable, going through all the repetition quoted from age to age. Then from these he tries to make out a consistent chronology and geography from all the quotations.*

*All translations before Remusat, however, almost worthless—Visdelou tr. part of this in D'Herbelot.

I have studied the whole book quite carefully, and compared it with Yule. The real question is, did the Chinese know the Roman Empire? From Visdelou to Yule it is pretty well agreed that they did. Hirth denies it, and tries to prove that they never knew anything but the extreme Eastern Roman province of Syria. This province and the Parthians met at a boundary near the head of the Persian Gulf. He makes out that the overland trade from China came down, through the jealous hands of the Parthians, to the head of the Persian Gulf, thence going by ship entirely around Arabia, and up the Red Sea, to a port at the head of the present Gulf of Akabah, thence transhipped overland, through great city of Petra, to Gaza and other ports on the Eastern Mediterranean, where the silk went on to be split, rewoven, and dyed. Before Mohamm. conquered it, this Petra was the great commercial city of the East (Pliny, Mommsen & Strabo describe), goods passed here from hands of Southern (Arabian) to Northern (Roman or Syrian) merchants. Thus was the barrier of the Suez Isthmus crossed.

In 162-165 A. D. came Parthian War of Antoninus, the great cities of Parthia near the head of the Persian Gulf were destroyed. Line cut. Direct relation necessary. A mission was sent. But Antoninus did not send it. Probably it was a private mercantile expedition from Petra, which took his name. Brought Roman coins wh. the Chinese describe.

The Han dynasty was now failing; the Huns strong between, Land intercourse closed. Henceforth by sea. The Chinese

knew the Red Sea, Nile, Alexandria, Antioch; but had no idea that this region was subject to a capital farther West. The great description of the Taths capital must surely be Antioch.*

*Criticism of Hirth. Why, if goods had been brought 4000 miles by land already, should they go around by sea another 2000 miles, to escape a land journey of a few hundred? Hirth admits that there must have been all land routes to the Mediterranean, but makes no effort to identify them. He admits however that the great "flying bridge" which the Chinese describe on the land route, must have been that built by Seleucus across the Euphrates at *Leugma*.

Probably Hirth is right that Rome itself was not known.

The result of this first period is thus, meagre. Nothing comes to the West from the Chinese mind—only commerce, and vague limits of geography. The Chinese had a much better knowledge of Eastern Rome. The trade was in the hands of intermediate races.

Second Period

(corresponding to early part of Tang dynasty)

There had been an interregnum of 400 years. Tartar races had come down from the North, as Teutonic upon Rome.

European Historians, following the official Chinese, have bewailed this as an age of decay. It was really the beginning of the higher Chinese culture. The 400 years of Han had been a great experiment in socialistic institutions; the 400 years that followed were China's best experiment in individualism. The Southern genius flourished; Buddhism and Taoism grew.

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Chinese art and the freer forms of poetry take their great beginnings. But there was no direct intercourse between Syria and Europe.

From the beginning of the 7th century after Christ, however, China had become once more a consolidated Empire which soon pushed its power west to the border of Persia and the Caspian. From 618 it called itself the Tang dynasty, and its second Emperor Tait song (627-650) was probably the greatest monarch China ever knew. Chinese culture reached its highest point, probably, in the reign of Hsiuntsong, uniting the genius of both North and South (712-756). It was the lofty culture of this supreme epoch that passed over to the nearly founded Kioto in Japan, in 795.

The Policy of the Tang was grand and liberal. It wished to open intercourse with all nations. All forms of religion were not only tolerated, but encouraged. Under it the great Buddhist pilgrim made his long journey to the West; and the traditions of Greek art made their way to China and Japan. At this day China surely rivalled in splendor and wealth the great days of the earlier Roman Empire; and her intellectual and spiritual height had been only surpassed for a brief period by that of Athens.

If such a China could have faced a Roman Empire of palmy days, an exchange of thought would have surely followed. But now its Western vis-à-vis was only a Byzantine Empire whose hold upon its Eastern provinces was relaxing under the

rising tide of Mohammedan fanaticism. Had the successors of Justinian been as great, and had there occurred no Saracen movement, Constantinople and Singanfu would have become intimate. As it was, the old barrier of the Parthians and the Huns, took on a far more menacing form in the triumphant hordes of the Prophet's successors, threatening to invade even China herself, and clipping away gradually the outer provinces of both extreme Empires.*

*The two movements are related. The last of the Sassanid Persian Kings sought Taitson's alliance against the Saracens. His son had close relations with the Chinese Court. The Turberton states put themselves under Taitson's protection. Then two moves met.

It was this situation which had the Byzantines in 643, to send an embassy to Taitson with presents of jewels; presumably asking for something like an alliance. Another arrived in 711, another in 719—and another in 742. All these are from Chinese sources.

We must look further into the Chinese knowledge of this period. The extreme West now appears to China under a new name, *Fu-lin*. Chinese History says that Fulin is the new name of the old *Tathsin*. It is from this Fulin that the above embassies came. The new records describe the capital much more fully, apparently identifying it with the old capital of Tatsing. Describe its wars with the Arabs. Seem to know something of Africa, and the dark river west of the desert (Atlantic?) and the dark men, which bound all to the West. The Christian Religion is mentioned though half identified with Buddhism—

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Services are to be held on every seventh day.

Up to Hirth, almost all Western writers have identified this Fulin, with *πολις*, the city that is Constantinople. Hirth, however, believes the Chinese never knew of Constantinople; and tries to prove that all the descriptions still refer to Antioch. Further he holds that these were only religious missions from the Patriarch of the Nestorian Xns., who, with the Arab conquests became quite cut off from the Western Church. According to the Singanfu inscription, the Nestorian Bishop arrived at the Tang Capital in 636. Hirth believes that Fulin has a Xn meaning, and signifies Bethlehem (!)*

*But Hirth himself says that the name Fulin is first found in the Sui dynasty annals (581-617). Thus the name could not have first been brought by Olopen.

Hirth says Potoli, the sender of the 643 embassy, called King of Fulin, in old pronunciation, would be Bat-do-lik- or Persian Bathrick, a patriarch of a Xn sect, as defined in D'Herbelot. But I think Hirth bases too much on doubtful sounds. Judging from Japanese pronunciation, the old Chinese sound should be nearer Hakutari, which might be Heraclius, the Byzantine Emperor who was killed just after.

But though we may not follow Hirth in eliminating Byzantine embassies, we must admit that the advent and encouragement of the Nestorian Xns in China is one of the great events of the Tang Dynasty. But very little of the knowledge of China by the Nestorians filtered through to European consciousness. It is only since modern research among their records, and the discovery of the Singanfu monument in 1625, that we have known the full importance of their missions (erected 781)*

*Kircher pub. first attempted translation in 1636—Semedo saw it and gave best acct. of it. 845 Nestorian sect forbidden.

The third great line of intercourse with the early Tang dynasty was through the Arabs. From the 6th century at least, and in large numbers in the 7th, Chinese ships made the voyage from Canton to India, and the ports at the head of the Persian Gulf, carrying their own goods, for transshipment at that point. Later they sometimes came as far as Aden at the mouth of the Red Sea. By the 8th C. Arab traders, (Mussulmans) had colonies in the Chinese ports. Also the Arabs were pressing in on the overland route. By 713, the Arab general Kutaiba, conquering Eastward, had met the Chinese frontier at Kashgar, and threatened invasion. Later severe conflicts occurred. Arab soldiers allied themselves with the Empire against a Chinese rebel, and then pillaged the capital.

But the few literary records of their intercourse in Arabic were not made known to Europe until long after. (The notes of Arab travellers of the 9th & 10th C. were published by Renandot in 1718, and tr. into English in 1733. Interesting to us now, but exerted no contemporary influence.)* Hints of this knowledge, however, filtered to the Greek geographers. The Arab Geographer *Edrisi*, wrote under patronage of King Roger II of Sicily, 1154. His confused knowl. of China lets something through in interval between Second and Third Periods.

*fine description of Chang-an (Khumdan), the Chinese capital.

What really new knowledge of China came to Europe in the Second Period, must be sought from the Byzantine writers.

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1. First comes *Cosmas* in the 6th C., just before the opening of the Tang dynasty. He is the first to speak of China in a matter of fact manner—and not as a vague myth. He was a merchant turned monk, and may have (apparently) travelled as far as Ceylon. He had a correct idea of Geography, and how ships must turn North (in our Pacific Ocean) to reach the ports of China. He understands how this would bring it in a straight line by land nearer to Persia. Tells mostly about India, but mentions the great mass of Chinese silk that passes overland through Persia.

2. Next we ought to mention the introduction of the silk worm to the Eastern Empire, under the care of Justinian. Theophanes of Byzantium, end of 6th C. describes how a Persian brought the eggs concealed in a walking stick. This was the first introduction into Europe, and made the West partly independent of China, for silk in the middle ages.

3. But Theophylactus Simocatta in the 7th C. gives us much more accurate detail about China. He knows much about Central Asian wars. He tells of a great people Tangas, whose ruler is called Taissan—divided by a great river. late wars between North and South.

The King's chariots and women—silk, white skins. Says the capital is called *Khubdan* (This is name always given by Arabs as name of *Chang an*. Speaks of the rivers and trees in it (but adds that Alexander built it!).*

*hereditary rulers, idolatry, (Buddhism) just laws, life full of temperate wisdom (Confucius), much wealth from commerce—

It seems that the historian may have died in 629—but not sure. Taitsong had become Emperor—623. Scholars have hesitated to identify Tangas with Tang, but the Japanese pronunciation of that date is To or Toong. The other descriptions are nearly correct, and give the first European acct. of the interior of China, its gov't—history—customs—Capital city—

As a result of this Second Period, we have not got much. It is a great and critical and absorbing period for China; but hardly lightens up the falling twilight of the European mind. I do not know whether this one acct. of Theophylactus became widely spread in Western Europe.

Third Period

In China, another intermediate age supervened, from the middle of the 9th century to the middle of the 13th—during which there was little military assertion abroad, and much lack of unity at home, combined with an indifference to foreign ideas. This included the famous Sung dynasty, great in the history of art and letters, but broken up for the most part between Tartar domination in the North and a native Southern dynasty in the South. One of these Northern Tartar dynasties was named Khitai, and this name, for some cause or other got spread through central Asia, and later became attached by Marco Polo to the whole Mongol Empire as Cathay.* It is said that this name still designates China for the Russians.

*lasted in localities from 10th Cen. to beginning of 12th (1123)

The Third Period, does not open however, until the sudden expansion throughout Asia and into Europe, of a new Northern tribe of Tartars named Mongols, whose raids were organized by the Local Chieftain, Genghis Khan. This transformer of the Universe, born in 1162 (1155?), had united all the independent Tartars under him by 1206—had been proclaimed Khan in 1202, by 1214 had nearly destroyed the Kin dynasty in Northern China, and taken their capital Chungtu (now Peking). He was fighting against Northern China, and Russia at the same time. Died in 1227—But his son Okkodai destroyed the Kin, and ruled all China to the Yangtse by 1234. By 1242 his Lieutenant Batu had conquered Poland, ravaged Hungary, burned Pesth, and threatened to destroy all Europe,* when his Master's death in 1246 caused him to retire to Southern Russia. By 1259 the 4th Khan, Mangu, ruled a single Empire from Kamtschatka to Persia and from the China Sea to the Baltic.

*Great fear in Europe. Gog and Magog. Alexander's wall

This transformed the world, for now, for the first time in human history, a single clear path from Europe through Asia lay open. What sort of a Europe did it face? One, blossoming out after the Crusades, into new self consciousness, but localized in a dozen separate centres, the most brilliant of which were the mistresses of Mediterranean commerce, Venice and Genoa.

The first thought of Europe and the Pope was how to

placate these Tartars, the next to organize them into a grand alliance against their common foe, the all victorious Saracens. The Mongols were either heathen or Buddhist. A mighty hope arose in Europe to convert them all to Christianity.

The reason that this strange hope seemed so promising came from vague rumors already in the air of a great Christian Potentate in Central Asia, named Prester John, who had already attacked Mohammedan Persia. This story had been started in Europe by the Syrian Bishop of Gabala in 1145. John was said to be a descendant of one of the three wise Kings. The Xns in their glee at a chance to overthrow the Mohammedans spread the story; and forged letters from Prester John were circulated about Europe, even before the advent of the Mongols. When Genghis arose, he was thought to be John or his son.* The significance of all this is that a Tartar crusade was already in the air, a similar idea, in fact, to that which spurred Columbus two centuries later. There was just this amount of truth in the story that the Kerait Tartars in Asia, related to the Khitai, had been converted to Xny. by Nestorians in the 11th century; and some Xn, Tartar and Georgian chiefs were, apparently, in the armies of the Mongols.

*Later it was said that Genghis had married a princess.

Just at this crisis, in Europe itself arose another, as by miracle, the almost simultaneous growth of the Dominican and Franciscan orders of Friars. The Pope had men, soldiers to his hand, and hardly had Batu withdrawn from Pesth, when

Ernest F. Fenollosa's "Notes for History of Influence of China upon the Western World" he despatched a Franciscan John of Plan Caspini, in 1245 as Envoy to the chief Khan, whom he reached at his Tartar capital Karakorum in 1246. This was not China, to be sure, but near it, and Caspini was perhaps the first man of European race to penetrate Northern Tartary. Here, too, he met Chinese from the Northern Provinces, and heard something of the country far to the South. He was sent back by the Khan with a messenger to the Pope the same year. He left a narrative of his journey which was published and annotated in his "*Voyages*" by D'Avezac.* He is the first to speak of Chinese religion, and Buddhist practices which he confounded with Xny.

*Recueil de Voyages—1839

Rubruqués, another Franciscan, was sent by St. Louis of France to the Khan in 1253, returning to Antioch in 1255. His account identified Cathay with the ancient Seres, whom he never reached, but only heard about in Tartary. He speaks of their being great artists. They have paper money, on which lines are printed. They write with painting pencils, and "a single character of theirs" comprehends several letters so as to form a whole word. This is the sole notice of Chinese writing in Europe, up to the 16th C. Rubruqués has been only known to moderns through D'Avezac's translations, but it is interesting to know that Roger Bacon had met him, and from his information worked out a considerable improvement in his geographical conception of the world.*

*Roger Bacon was much struck with R's acct. of the paper money,

and its bearing on finance. Marco Polo's corroborating acct. of this was generally believed to be a myth.

This vacuum of Tartar domination drew others into it besides monks, adventurers and merchants; and in 1260 the two elder Poli, father and uncle of Marco, set out from Constantinople to visit the Mongols in Russia, whence they made their way slowly overland through Bokara and Tartary, arriving at the new Eastern Summer capital of Kaipingfu, founded in 1256,* about 350 miles north from Peking, and a thousand miles farther East than any European had gone before. Here in 1264 or 1265 they met the great 5th Khan Kublai. Though still holding the hegemony, the Tartar Empire had practically been parcelled out into 4 Kingdoms, of which Kublai's was the East, including whatever he might still conquer of Southern China. He received the two Venetians well, and sent them back with letters to the Pope, asking him to send to the Mongol Court a hundred learned missionaries.

*Peking made capital in 1264.

The two brothers got back in 1269, but the papal Court was weak, and in 1271 sent back with the Poli to China only 2 missionaries, who soon lost heart and deserted. The Poli however, kept on, and with them the young lad Marco; and reached the Khan again in 1275, about 10 years after they had left him. They remained in the service of Kublai for 17 years, and Marco rose to be a Court official of considerable responsibility, who is mentioned in the Chinese annals. Some of his

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missions were to distant parts of the Empire, and on his home journey by sea, he was still executing a commission, in the course of which he visited Java, Ceylon, and Persia. He had thus known intimately almost the entire Eastern world.*

*Marco explored, on a government commission, S. Western China, penetrating as far as Burmah. He was on the board of the treasury, and sent to Hangchow to report on the Revenues. For 3 years he was governor of the city Yangchow. He helped Kublai to construct catapults in reducing the Chinese cities.

They (the 3 Poli) reached Venice in 1295 or 96 (36 years after the elders had started), and settled down as wealthy citizens, but in 1298 Marco was taken prisoner of war by the Genoese, and there in the prison occurred the incident which alone has rescued his name and knowledge from oblivion. In the same prison was Rusticiano*, a scholar of Pisa, who already had written on some parts of the Arthurian legend in French prose. Struck with the romance and value of Marco's tales, he offered to write them down to Marco's dictation.

*Rusticiano was a great man, one of the two or three who have seen with one eye, the rich value of European chivalric romance, and the romance of new life in an unknown Asiatic world.

The next year Marco was freed, and he continued to live as a good citizen at Venice till 1324. Probably he added explanatory notes to some of the copies which were made from his original MSS.; and these were eventually incorporated with the Ramusio edition.

The value of Polo is enormous, because he was for most

part an eye witness, shrewd and honest, and he mostly tells us when he speaks on hearsay. The truth of his geographical work is confirmed by independent Arab sources, the later work of Jesuits, and modern travel. (His plan of Peking is confirmed by everything we now know.)*

*On his death bed Marco was urged to retract, and admit he had been a liar; but both he and his uncles protested truth till end. It has been said that down to a comparatively late day in Venice pageants and mountebanks dressed like him went about telling abominable lies.

Marco was in the government service during Kublai's attempt to conquer Japan, and in his final conquest of the Sung dynasty in Southern China. He is the first to give any account whatever to the Western world of Xipangu, which of course he saw distorted in Tartar imagination; but his most valuable piece of work next to this is his description of Hangchow, the late capital of the Southern Chinese a few years after it had been taken.*

*1, 600, 000 houses. 12, 000 stone bridges	
3000 public baths, greatest palace of world.	lost 1281
Even in Martini's day 20 miles long, in city.	
Revenue to Peking £10, 000, 000	Hangchow fell 1276
We know from other sources.	

We now know this city to have been the seat of the most highly cultured civilization China ever knew; in fact there is some sense in saying that the world has known but three short periods of perfect enlightenment, at Athens, at Florence and at Hangchow.*

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*Tells something of the life of Buddha—"Sagamoni Borean"—The Xt. story of St. Josaphat is really Buddha—

Such a sudden burst of light about China was too much for the stupid Europeans of that day, and with few exceptions, Polo was regarded for three hundred years by everybody—(and the tradition has not died out at this day), that he was a consummate liar. It was a great loss to the world that the one European mind capable of appreciating Polo's material, Roger Bacon, should have died 2 years before Polo's return.*

*Sir Francis Palgrave's "The Merchant and the Friar," London 1837. Roger Bacon was very much struck with R's acct. of paper money.

Still Polo's influence on geography was gradual, as shown in the Catalan map of 1375,* and led indirectly, and through Toscanelli, to the theories and aims of Columbus.

*(at Paris)

Marco has left us a great picture of Chinese cities, and a little side light on the life of the people;*

*For example, speaks of coal, "black stones for fuel." Every one has hot baths 3 times a week. Rich have private baths.

and yet there are great defects—so much more he ought to have told us. It is evident that he was always an alien to the Chinese, and cared nothing for their higher culture. All their religions to him are heathenish; he never spoke or read the Chinese language, and does not even mention their written characters or printed books. All his fellow officials were foreign to China, Tartars, or Mohammedans; and he was always enter-

tained in Chinese cities by Arabs or Persians. Thus he went through that wonderful world, with the same kind of contemptuous alien indifference, which we see today among most of the Europeans in Chinese and Japanese ports. It is thus that almost all his names of places are the Tartar or Persian names, not the Chinese. In the later multiplied MSS. and translations, havoc has been played with the spelling of his names; but his earliest form of spelling is often pure Persian.*

*This Khan-balig, Polo's name, is literally Persian for the Khan's city, but in all later writers this becomes something like Cambaluc. It was Visdelou in the 4th vol. of D'Herbelot, 1677, who corrected all the Persian names that had previously been mentioned as Chinese.

We will speak of the printed editions of Polo at the beginning of the next Part.

It was strange that during Kublai's reign, Xndom should have neglected the chance of converting so tolerant a monarch. tolerant & revered by equally—wished to control Budd. monarchs. But under his successors, and beginning from the moment of Polo's return, several Franciscan monks, almost without papal help, were about to plunge alone, and unaided by previous knowledge, not only among the Tartars, but into the great body of the Chinese Empire. The first of these was John of Monte Corvino. He set out from Persia in 1291. Came to Peking. Converted 6,000 persons; built a church and lived almost alone, cut off from the West for 11 years. Then in 1305 he writes to the Pope pathetically asking help, and telling of the Kingdom of the Khan. The Pope then made him archbishop of

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Peking; and others of lesser note joined him. He died in 1328.

But the greatest of all these Franciscan monks and the one who has left the fullest notice of China, next to Polo, was Friar Odoric of Pordenone. He left Europe about 1317, was in India about 1321—spent three years in Northern China before 1328, and wrote down his story in Padua in 1330, a year before his death. He also describes the great cities of China including Peking and Hangchow, and agrees with Polo. He speaks of large jar of jade, wrought with gold and carved with dragons at corners. Early description of Chinese art. Describes the great summer palace and garden, when Polo was at Sandu. Polo calls it Ciandu, Spanish editors make it Xanadu. It is really Shangtu—or upper Court. Here Coleridge got it—from 1264 Peking built—called Shangtu.*

*of "Chandu," Marco says, "there is a fine marble palace the rooms of which are all gilt and painted with figures of men, birds, and beasts and with a variety of trees and flowers, all extended with such exquisite art that you regard them with delight and astonishment." First notice of Chinese ptg. like my screens. Compass of park is 16 miles—stocked with rare birds and animals. also a "Cane" (bamboo) palace in the park—has gilt and lacquered columns, with gilt dragons twisting and used as brackets.

It was while reading this passage of Marco in Purchas, that Coleridge slept & dreamed. Yuen Ming Yuen & Kinkakuji based on it.

Odoric was better known in the middle ages, and after printing, than Polo. He is the chief source from which Mande-

ville stole what part of his fiction approximates the truth.*

*The earliest known MS. of Mandeville is dated 1371, and is in French. There was no original English M. All tr. by others. 3 English versions—about 1410-1420. 5 Latin versions. Says he is an Englishman who chose to write in French. The work is a plundering patchwork of plagiarism, tho[ugh] he may have been as far as Holy Land. Part on Eastern Asia has no trace of personal experience. Speaks of talking with Tartar princes who had died a century before. Mixes up places. Says he served Khan 15 mo. against King of Manji! a deliberate imposture. From tomb and records at Liege, we know he came in 1322 and died in 1372. Chronicle of 1399 says his name was Jean de Bourgogne. John de Burgoyne, chamberlain to Baron de Mowbray, lost his party and master in 1321, and disappeared.

Being avowedly written for the unlearned, to be *popular*, it had great success. Eng. text good, taken as model—300 MSS. in existence.

Manuscripts of Odoric and particularly of Mandeville, and translations into many languages were widely multiplied in the 14[th] Century. The number of Polo MSS. is less. Still it is proved that Xndom strongly felt the charm of this new civilization. But in the 15th C. the interest and knowledge had largely died away, not to revive till the period of the Portuguese discoveries in the 16th.

Other sources of our present knowledge are Marignolli, Pegolotti—the Arabs Ibn Batuta and Abulfedo and the Persian Minister Rashid-ud-din.—whose reports were hardly accessible until recently. They all confirm Polo. The Armenian Hayton, wrote a History of the Tartary in French at Avignon in 1307, and has a chapter on China, in which he says that the Chinese have no knowledge of spiritual things. Adds nothing to Polo, but confirms him.*

*It is Rashid-ud-din who tells us about the building of Shangtu, which, the Khan had first seen in a dream. A site was selected at a

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lake near Kaipingfu, a great terrace was built, and the water was forced up in fountains! The palace was enclosed by a marble wall. The name was changed to Shangtu. Coleridge could not have known these details.

Of all, Marignolli's story is the most interesting, as giving us about the last account of the 3d period, or the Mongol dynasty in China. Bishop John of Montecorvino had died at Peking in 1328, and his successor, sent in 1333, did not arrive. An embassy from the Khan came to Avignon in 1338, asking for new missionaries. Some of this embassy were Tartar princes, who were greatly feted in Rome, and over Europe. A mission with presents was sent back under Marignolli, of Santa Croce in Florence, who spent 4 years at the Court of Peking 1342-46. He confounds Buddhist religious services with Xn., as did most everyone at that day, and describes the feast of Kwanyin at Hangchow, as of the "Virgin." Returned to Avignon in 1353, he wrote in 1355 notes interspersed through a History of Bohemia, which have become known only in modern times.*

*It is very striking in all the accounts of this day to see how much more widely and splendidly the worship of Buddhism was spread, than in the later days of the Jesuits. Yule thinks the Mongols deliberately liked to speak to Europeans of the Buddhist practices as Xn. Marignolli takes all the Buddhist temples and relics in Ceylon to be Xn. But in Jesuit days the confounding is with Confucius, now absolutely unmentioned. But the triumph of the Xn. church in China was as short lived as the Mongol dynasty. De Perusio, the Franciscan Bishop of Canton had written home that all were perfectly free and unhampered in their religious work.

But in 15 years after Marignolli (ended 1368), the Mongol

Dynasty is tottering to its fall, native Chinese revolts favor nothing foreign, and the converts and churches & friars which were growing up everywhere disappear in darkness. The name of Cathay goes out forever.

If now we sum up the results of the knowledge of the Third Period, we find it great compared to what went before. But its great defect still is that it tells us nothing of the Chinese Literature, language, or mind. Some of the Franciscan Bishops must have known some Chinese, but they did not transmit any knowledge. After all the mission had flourished for only about 40 years. Buddhism seems never to have been clearly differentiated from the myth of general Xtianizing, first St. Thomas, after by Nestorians. Not a hint of Confucius appears. As a great spiritual civilization, the Chinese hardly exist for Europe.*

*Possible influence on Chaucer—Boccaccio. Boudouin de Sebourg, & others.

And yet we can trace some slight influence of this knowledge of the third period upon European literature. The vocabulary of Europe is enriched by hundreds of new words derived from fuller intercourse with the East, words used freely, and with new music by Dante, Boccaccio, the French Romancers, Gower and Chaucer.

buckram>boqueran>Bokhara-|mosolins=cloth of gold>mosul, a town Rich brocades of Baghdad, or Baudas—called Baldachi<Chaucer-Baudekins—

Cramoisy—Eng. Chermisi, is from Kermes, the cochineal insect—Chaucer's word for ruby is Bales—from Balak, or Badakshan—Polo's is Balas

Tartarium="on every trumpe hanging a broad banere—Of fine Tartarium"

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Zaitun<satin

More specifically it has been asserted that Chaucer derived some of the material for his Squire's tale from Marco Polo. Brandl, Pollard, Skeat, and Ten Brink, have all ascribed influence to Polo—Genghis <Cangus<Camius<Camhis

Cambyuscan is evidently based on Kublai—Manley and Kittridge oppose this on the ground that the likeness to Polo is too vague. Manley argues that Chaucer would have followed his facts literally; but he forgets that Polo was believed to be a consummate liar. And if here Chaucer is deliberately creating a romance, Marco's material is as good to pick from as any other. Even Manley admits that it must have come from Mandeville, Odoric, Rubruquès, or the Armenian Hayton. Brandl suggests that the visit of the Armenian King Leo to London in 1385-6 may have aroused Chaucer's interest. Clouston thinks that the magical incidents in the tale were in the air from Saracen sources, and had already been used in the French metrical romance, *Cléomodès*. In any case, Chaucer proves that the general mass of information, concerning the Tartars, accumulated in the 3rd period, had filtered through some channel into Europe, and reached London.

Chroniclers and Historians of the day also recorded much of this material—such as Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum Historiale*, and Matthew Paris in his *Historia Major*.

Yule thinks the poetical French Romance

Bouduin de Sebourg, composed about 1314 has many incidents that are clearly based on Polo. also these accts of Polo & Odoric get mixed up with a late form of the Alexander myth. The Great Wall is his wall—Friedrich II thought that the Tartars are Gog-Magog=Mongol—

The life of Buddha, in story of Josaphat, influenced Boccaccio, Gower, and Shakespeare. Buddha=one of Catholic Saints.

The Ming dynasty in the interval between the 3d and 4th periods, shut China out from the West for 200 years—They attempted to revive the native glories of the Sung; but their armies were not powerful and aggressive in Western Asia. A great barrier of Turks had arisen between them and

Europe, the Empire of Tamirland. Constantinople fell—Europe was seriously threatened.

Fourth Period

The causes of the Fourth Period are *first*, growth of scientific knowledge in Europe, and the improvement of navigation; *second*, the necessity of finding a new route for Eastern commerce, blocked by the Turks, a problem solved by the circumnavigation of Africa by the Portuguese, and the founding of their Indian Empire at Goa in 1508; —*third*, the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644, and the rise, even before that date of a new Tartar power, the Manchu, which bade fair to more than rival its Mongol predecessors, in a bias toward foreigners & Xtny. Doubtless the Portuguese discoveries were partly stimulated by a rereading of Polo; and Toscanelli's letter, which confirmed Columbus, is based on study of Polo. Martinez of Lisbon. Says Rinsai will lie 6,500 miles due W. from Lisbon. But it was not until after the voyage of Magellan, and the Spaniards were settled at Manila, and the Portuguese at Malacca, that a new set of expeditions started to explore Japan and reexplore China. It is worth recording that as late as 1565, the city of Mexico was identified with M. P.'s Quinsay or Hangchow.*

*And as late as 1677—in Baudrand's Lexicon, Cathay is put down as a land distinct from China.

For convenience we may, somewhat arbitrarily divide our

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consideration of this richest fourth period into four sub-periods or movements; (a) the Portuguese movement, and the attempts of the Jesuits from Macao; from about 1550 to 1660—(b) the independent Jesuit movement largely under French influence, at the Court of Kanghi in Peking, and later—roughly from 1660 to 1740—(c) the awakening of popular interest in China throughout Europe, in which the continued work of the Jesuits played a part—roughly from 1740 to 1810— and (d) the enormous work of the present century from 1810—, consisting of two main parts, the work—largely English,—of the new protestant missions in China; and the transplanting of a knowledge of Chinese language and literature to European scholars. To this must be added any amount of notes of travel & general description.

1st Sub-period

A. The Portuguese Period

1480 Behaim of Nuremberg had applied the astrolabe to
obl. latitude

1486 Dias rounded Cape of Good Hope

1492 Columbus started for Cathay

1497-8 da Gama reached India

The Portuguese empire in India was founded at Goa by Albuquerque in 1508. A year or two later there were settlements in Malacca, near the present Singapore. In 1511 the first European landed on the shores of China, Raffael Perestralo, who had sailed from Malacca. In 1517 Don Fernand Perez D' Andrade, a Portuguese officer, arrived off the Coast of China with a squadron, and was well received by the Canton Man-

darins. He visited Peking, where he resided some time as ambassador. But a 2nd Portuguese fleet committed acts of piracy in Chinese waters; and Perez was arrested, imprisoned for 6 years, and finally executed in 1523.*

*1. 1521. Magellan's fleet reached Philippines from East. Magellan had been in Goa and Malacca in 1509.

2. 1524. Da Gama arrived in India for 3rd time, as Governor.

Still Portuguese traders came periodically to the neighborhood of Canton, and disposed of cargos. In 1540, the Jesuit organization was authorized and in 1541 Loyola chosen its head, and in 1542, Xavier, one of the first members, reached Goa, soon after Malacca, and later Japan. Here he organized a splendid Jesuit mission. But still the unknown mass of China lay before him; and in 1552 he tried to enter, but died off the coast, near Macao in 1553.

Meanwhile the Portuguese traders made such determined attempts to get into China, that they were allowed to build huts at Macao in 1557. Camoens wrote at Macao in 1559-60— Soon some 600 Portuguese were living there, and the Chinese had to wall them off in 1573. A Bishop of Macao was established in 1580, and a Jesuit missionary, Roger, sent by the pope in 1581. The great Ricci arrived in 1583, and proceeding to Peking in 1595, gained the Ming Emperor's favor at Peking. But the Chinese were pretty indifferent to these early attempts to convert them.*

*The example of the Spaniards who had seized the Philippines Islands, and who massacred 20,000 unarmed Chinese there in 1602,

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was not assuring. In 1596 Queen Elizabeth in vain attempted to get a letter to the Emperor of China.

Ricci died at Peking in 1610— and was succeeded by Schall. These men laid the foundation of Jesuit power in China; but it was not till the rise of the Manchu dynasty in 1644 that missions were openly encouraged; and not till the advent to the throne of the great Kanghi in 1661 that they became all powerful at Court. Schall was made Astronomer Royal and President of the academic board before 1650. There is no sharp demarkation between this earlier Jesuit movement, and the later; but the later is mostly under Frenchmen, while this employs Italians, Portuguese, Spanish, Germans and others. Again, the letters and memoirs of this time are written chiefly in Latin, Portuguese, Spanish, or Italian; while the later works are in French. Another point is that these earlier men, while they worked at the language, did not much affect European knowledge of it; while the later poured out their translations of Chinese literature, over Europe; and are our first great source of knowledge of the Chinese mind.

It is not necessary here to go into any minute bibliographical account of all the material existing at this time. We need mention only the chief works, and among these we ought first to include, the printed editions of the writers of the Mongol period, which first became widely known and read through the stimulus of the new Jesuit discoveries.

Odoric had been printed in Italian at Pesaro in 1513—

in French at Paris in 1529

Widely spread in Ramusio's collections 2d ed. in 1574
in English by Hakluyt— Lond[on]—1599
Many editions, in whole or part, and lives, later—

Polo was first printed in German	1477	
in Latin	1490	
Venice	1496	
Portuguese	1502	
Spanish	1520	Seville
Ramusio	1559	

*English tr. by Frampton, from the Spanish 1579
Again in Purchas from Ramusio in 1625

*"The most noble and famous travels of Marcus Paulus, one of the nobilitie of the state of Venice, into the East parts of the world. . . No lesse pleasant than profitable. . . most necessary for all sortes of Persons, and especially for Travellers."

It must be remembered that Ramusio's is the first critical life of Polo. He says that Polo had been thought fabulous, but now recent Portuguese discoveries are proving him veracious.

Therefore he makes this timely publication, 1559.

German	Poåle	1475 (Some say Dutch about 1470)
German		1481
French & Italian		1480
English-probably-		1499
reprint		1503-1568

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15 English editions before 1725

Thus we have Eng. of Polo 1579

“ ” Odoric 1599.

These were new relics from the Third Period

Now of the *New Works* before 1556 at Malacca (among many)

Bernardino de Escalante—Discurso de la Navigacione que los Portugueses hazen a los reinos y provincias de oriente etc. Sevilla 1577—

an English tr. of this by Frampton in 1579—

But already had been published in London in 1578 (probably)

The Strange and Marvellous news lately come from the Great Kingdom of Chyna—etc. tr.

out of the Castylyn tongue—by Y. N. (original of this not known.)

These two new translations were of exactly the same date as the Marco Polo; and evince the tremendous awakening of Eng. interest in the outer world, that marks the reign of Elizabeth. This is just the beginning of the great literary period; and surely research will show some influence.

4 new works in Span. Lat. and Ital. came out 5 years later in 1584— and 5.

But the greater of these which takes its place as the first great treatise on Chinese civilization of the new Jesuit period,

and the first since Marco Polo— is Y. G. Mendonça.*

*Mendoza, of noble & famous family—born at Toledo 1540—became an Augustinian monk— and in 1580 was sent by Philip II to China, to collect accurate information concerning the Kingdom. He spent 3 years in the work. This is therefore the first deliberate descriptive and semiscientific work on China, as contrasted with travels.

The first edition at Rome 1585

Historia de las Cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres, del gran Reyno de la China—

republished at Madrid in 1586

& Barcelona 1596

again in Antwerp—Still in Spanish 1596

Italian at Rome—Venice, & Genoa— 1586

First French—translation Paris 1589

Geneva 1606

Lyons 1609

Rouen 1614

But the great English edition, tr. by R. Parke was printed in 1588— 410 pages, entitled, “The Historie of the Great and Mightie Kingdoms of China, and the Situation thereof, Together with the great riches, huge citties, and politike government, and rare inventions in the same”— 1588

Reprinted for the Hakluyt Society in 1850—This is only 9 years after the 1st Eng. edition of Marco Polo.

Shakespeare must have seen Mendoza.

This work of Mendoza has a short but obscure acct. of Chinese characters, in which it is declared that each word has its

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The next great work was the Hakluyt Collection 1599—which contains besides Odoric also a work printed in Latin in Macao in 1590—"An Excellent Treatise of the Kingdom of China" in 1606, Edmund Scott pub. An exact Discourse of the East Indians as well as Chyneses and Javans"

(I do not yet know the value of this)

In 1624—Baudier publ. in French, *Histoire de la Cour du Roy de la Chine*, only pp. 56. This was tr. into Eng. by E. G. and published in Oxford Collection of Travels, Vol. II, 2d ed. 1634.

But The 2nd great book of this first series is

The "Imperio de la China"—Madrid 1642 by Alvarez Semedo—Published in Ital. tr. Rome 1643, French "*Histoire Universelle du Grand Royaume de la Chine*"—Paris 1645

The great English translation of this was "The History of that Great and Renowned Monarchy of China etc. Lately written in Italian by a Portuguese who resided 22 years in China—Now put into English by a person of quality"—pp. 308—London 1655.

This was 67 years after the great English edition of Mendoza, and supplanted it. Semedo had seen the Singanfu inscription, and translated it. (dated 781)*

*This book of Semedo mentions many things—Chinese schools and examinations, written documents, porcelain, rice wine, & tea; it also describes the terrible civil wars that closed the Tang dynasty—Describes Peking.

We see then that there had been pub. in English, as chief authorities—

Polo 1579

Mendoza 1588

and Semedo 1685

Much now was known about Chinese customs & History. But still there was comparatively little so far on the language or literature; or the real inner thought of the Chinese.

Many Jesuits knew Chinese, and had written Xn. tracts in Chinese; but little in way of Philological Kn.[owledge] or translation had yet come to Europe.*

*The influence of this first subperiod of contemporary English Literature under Elizabeth and James must have been very great; but has still to be investigated.

One thing seems certain that Bunyan took his acct. of the valley of the Shadow of Death from Odoric's powerful acct. of the Valley of Death in Tartary, which he had read in Hakluyt. Polo had less influence because disbelieved. Sir Thomas Broune openly criticizes him and doubts his genuineness. In the 18th C. Englishmen doubted whether Polo ever had been to China. In 1828 a German writer calls him an imposter. But they all were inclined to believe Mandeville.

In Francis Bacon's *Silva Sylvarum*, 1627, the curious stories about "Writers of Natural Magic" is supposed to refer to oriental wonders. His fables were very popular.

Bacon took great interest in Chinese characters. In his "Advancement of Learning," he wrote:

These are "Characters Real, which express neither letters nor words in gross, but Things or Notions; universal as Countries and Provinces, which understand not one another's language, Can nevertheless read one another's writings because the characters are accepted more gene-

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rally than the languages do extend; and therefore they have a vast multitude of characters, as many, I suppose, as radical Words."

He must have got the idea from reading Mendoza.

We come now to the *Second* Subperiod—under this 4th period—which we may call the period of the Jesuit triumph, that in which they established themselves as a mighty power at Peking. Also we may call it the French period, because the largest number of the Jesuit workers were French. Also we may call it the scientific period, because these Jesuits who were selected for the Chinese mission, were specially trained in the most advanced sciences and arts of Europe, by the teaching of which they might hold their power at Peking. Also it is the period of the first philologic knowledge of the Chinese language, of the first clear recognition of the great Chinese religions and sages, and of the first knowledge that came to Europe of the classic works of Chinese literature. We shall, arbitrarily, limit this period from about 1660 to about 1740.

This period deserves a much more serious study than has ever been given to it. Of Cordier's Chinese Bibliographie more than 200 pages of titles are concerned with the ecclesiastical publications of this period alone. And this is no matter of mere curiosity; for, as we shall see, it bears directly upon our power to understand and deal successfully with the Chinese in future.

The Manchu dynasty, founded in 1644, was in some sense a revival of that very Tartar power, which, under the name of Mongols, had first opened China to Europe 350 years before.

It awakened great hopes in Europe. There was a great chance of converting these Non-Chinese Emperors to Christianity, toward which they showed great liberality. The pure Chinese at court protested against foreigners and their religion, but the broad-minded Manchus overruled.

In the history of Chinese culture, this period, the early Manchu, is noted for its compilation and annotation. It could produce nothing new; the last native dynasty, the Ming, had tried this and failed. But it could sum up, for Manchu edification, all that China had been in her great creative days; and the Emperors surrounded themselves with Chinese scholars, who produced the great cyclopaedic digests of that day. This was the sort of work, and the sort of mind, that European Xns., just beginning to penetrate to the soul of this strange people, could the better understand; and the Jesuit thus found the traditional learning of China garnished and dished up for their service.

The second Emperor of this Manchu dynasty, a lad, the great Kanghi, mounted the throne in 1664, and his benevolent reign lasted for 62 years. The Jesuits had been among his early tutors, and it was his unswerving favor that carried them to the pinnacle of their power. Such a long reign of a strong, broad-minded sovereign, of itself creates an epoch.

But what sort of a Europe was it that this new China had to face? No longer a far, mighty Roman Empire, or a Byzantine crumbling under the hammer of the Saracens, or the weakness of isolated cities, and of a German empire and a Roman pa-

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pacy worn out with centuries of struggle, but the rise of the vigorous national European monarchies of modern times, rivaling each other in expansion of trade and as defenders of the faith. Thus Portuguese and Spaniards, first in the field in the 16th C. had, unfortunately for them, struck against the forbidding end of the Ming dynasty, which hated foreign intercourse. Now as the Manchus arose, power in Europe was passing into new hands, the Dutch, the English, and the French. The Dutch and the Portuguese came to blows off Macao ([blank]) and the former temporarily occupied Formosa. The English, too, sent traders and missions, but their high handed captains more often fell into fatal disputes with the mandarins. The Japanese had just been obliged to expel Europeans, after fearful struggles, and the Manchus, suspicious of the greed of these Westerners, refused to sign commercial treaties. Only one nation, the French, came around, not with cannon, or the rough insolence of traders, but with scientific knowledge, and a keen desire to sympathize and learn. The great Bourbon civilization of the West alone recognized the great value and high polish of this ancient empire of the East.

Already Colbert, the great finance minister of Louis XIV, had wished to open friendly relations with Chinese and made it known to Europe. His successor Louvois continued the policy, and he & the King personally trained and selected the young French Jesuits to be sent on this deliberate mission. These were charged to send home every kind of information, and the first great collections in Europe of Chinese books, for the

Royal Library. They were provided with all kinds of scientific instruments.

Another coincidence was the rise of the Jesuit order, (as the rise of the Franciscans had been contemporary with the short Mongol dynasty). It was their peculiar zeal, tact, and method, that unlocked the East. Had there been no Jesuit spirit, we should have known nothing till the present century. Their first efforts were concerned with India, their second Japan; but now, the new Manchu dynasty, gave them free entry into the terra incognita.

What was the Jesuit problem in China, and why did it play so enormous a part in the Church politics of the 17th and 18th centuries? The true nature of this movement has been concealed in clouds of controversy, narrow intolerance and bitter prejudice, both Catholic and Protestant. The conservatives of Europe could not possibly understand the breadth of the Jesuit programme: and the liberals of Europe, though able to understand and forced to admire it, as traditional enemies of the Jesuit order, feared and denounced the very power they admired. But the truth is— (and I don't know that it has been boldly stated before)—that the Jesuits of this brief period of 80 years, (including as an introduction the 40 years preceding it), are the only Europeans who, up to the present day, have appreciated the fundamental problem that faces Europe in dealing with the Chinese, the only truly great liberals in sympathizing and mingling with the Chinese mind, liberals far too great and foreseeing for the papal court at Rome, far more liberal

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than any of their Protestant successors of the present century. Had their policy been followed, the fate of China would have been revolutionized; and already would have been peacefully inaugurated that great enduring union of the best elements in East and West, which European bigotry and selfishness, even at this very moment, are doing their best to postpone. If ever the barrier between the Chinese and the European mind could have been broken down, it was then.

The problem arose in this way. Xavier, the friend of Loyola, had died off the coast of China, in 1552, others followed, with no success—. But in 1583, Matthew Ricci, an Italian Jesuit, who had prepared himself by a course of study of Chinese in Goa, (we must remember that Goa and other cities on the West coast of India, had been in close commercial contact with the Chinese for centuries) came to Macao, to devote his life to the new work, and by his tact, in spite of the traditional conservatism of the Ming Court, not only made his way to Peking, but succeeded in interesting the Emperor in the new scientific knowledge of the West which he brought with him.*

*Ricci born 1552, arrived Goa 1578—Left for Macao, to be aid to Father Valignani—1583 (Stationed near Canton)—1595 reached Peking—Carried presents to Empire of China 1600—died 1610.

He was the predecessor of that great band who followed for 150 years; he was the first Xn. advocate to penetrate China, and meet the Chinese soul face to face, to deal directly through the language with the people, to translate and publish European books in Chinese. To be sure, two great waves of

Xn. influence had preceded him in China. The Nestorians in the 2nd period had gone all over the Empire; but there is no record of their methods, and it is doubtful whether they had a strong enough self consciousness to distinguish themselves from their Buddhist and Taoist surroundings. The Franciscans too, for 40 years in the Mongol dynasty had been bishops of Peking, and Zaitun and Canton, but there is little evidence that they studied deeply the language, the religion, or the customs of the people among whom they dwelt; rather that, like Polo and the Arabs, they worked among the Tartars, and those who could speak Persian. No mention is made of Confucius, or of any of the great intellectual and moral institutes of China. Ricci, therefore, was probably the first to meet and understand the Chinese mind, man to man.

What Ricci now did in Peking would become a precedent, and determine the policy of the Xn. church in Asia. The problem of all time was before him. How could the Chinese and European mind really be made to meet? The specific problem was this; he had Xn. doctrines and civilization to teach; he had a great civilization, with a high moral system, and a wonderful interweaving of morals and learning with state politics, to teach it to. How far should he antagonize the Chinese spiritual system as hostile to his own? How far should he recognize and make the most capital out of its identity with his own? This, as the sequel showed, was to be no minor detail of missionary procedure; it belonged to the great scientific doctrine of Comparative Cultures, which no European mind of his day

could be capable of holding. Unfortunately, even today, we Westerners, for the most part, came to Asia, not to discover and welcome identities, but to impose our differences; and between the foreign residents of China and Japan and the natives there is almost as much of a caste feeling, as in our Southern states between the whites and the blacks. It is no mere missionary bias that leads us to undervalue their cultures, it is a solid jealousy of race and social prejudice. I find it here in America. We like the Japanese, when we can laugh at the absurdities of the "Mikado," or treat them as toys; but when you came to a serious comparison of their spiritual traits with ours, you are, 2 times out of 3, looked at askance as a *renegade*. This was the case with the hundreds of thousands of Arabs who dwelt in Chinese ports from the 8th C. We have it as record that any Arab who affiliated with Chinese, or who tried to study the language and customs, was denounced as a heretic. It was so in the days of Marco Polo, who scorns to say anything of the mass of Chinese, but that they are so many idolaters. It was so, as we shall soon see in England of the last century, where the early serious students of Chinese culture, like Perez, Hurd, and Chambers, lost caste and influence. It is so today when N. Y. journals resent Wu—ting—fan's all too cautious comparison between Confucius and practical Xny.

The immediate problem which confronted Ricci was this. He found the Chinese making use of the word *Tien*, *Heaven* in all their sacred writings, in their state papers, in their daily speech. There never was a people more impressed with the

fact that the order of Heaven had been reflected on earth, and especially in human institutions. Should Ricci, who had the Kingdom of Heaven to preach, ignore the advantage of this universal belief in a Chinese heaven? Should he declare this heaven a poor thing, inferior to the Xn., and thus weaken the enormous weight of national sanctions? Or should he proclaim the identity of the two, and run the risk of drowning the New Gospel in an ocean of old traditions? It is the same problem that has confronted the Protestant missionaries in the present century. Legge and his contemporaries have written whole libraries to prove or disprove that the Chinese *Tien* is identical with the Xn. Heaven.

The next dilemma was, should Ricci accept the Chinese name and idea of a Supreme God, *Shang te*, to whom the Emperor sacrificed in the temple of heaven at the New Year, and at the spring and autumn festivals? It is true that this original Chinese belief in a God of Heaven had been overlaid with Buddhist and Taoist conceptions, and that Confucius himself, though speaking much of Heaven, had not made practical development of this idea of God. Still it existed, and Ricci had to decide whether to use it as identical with his own, and let his converts take part in the national worship of Shangte.

A third and more difficult question was whether the worship of Confucius and the sacrifices and rites therein, should as political customs, and in his explanations laying chief weight upon the human meaning of the rights and honors paid in the so-called worship. Thus he was led to draw a sharp line

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between Confucianism which he accepted, and Buddhist and Taoist practices which, in the Chinese literary prejudice against them, he could safely afford to condemn as rank idolatry. In the chief book which he published in Chinese "On the Nature of the Divine Law," he deliberately aimed at Synthesis, and is accused by his enemies of even going so far as to confuse the personality of Xt. with Confucius. He also adopted the traditional dress, and modes of life, of a Chinese sage, and took a literary Chinese name with three characters. In all these precedents he was followed by the leading Jesuit missionaries in China for 150 years. He wrote 15 books in Chinese.

And it is worth noting that Ricci's great contemporary, the Jesuit missionary Robert di Nobili, in India, in 1605, tried to inaugurate a similar policy of identifying his methods with those of the Brahmin sages, sanctioned by Gregory XV in 1623, and which, if it had not been later suppressed by Rome, might have resulted in the discovery of Sanskrit and the nature of Hindu thought two centuries earlier than it actually came.

But it must be remembered that in China, having to deal with the cold indifference of the Ming dynasty, this policy of Ricci, working almost alone at Peking, was hardly more than a germ.

Dying in 1610, his successor, Adam Schall, became raised to the dignity of a high Mandarin, and sat in the imperial council. But by 1630, the fair success of the Jesuits in winning their way into the heart of China, stimulated their rival orders, Dominicans and Franciscans, to enter the missionary field;

and when, in their narrow bigotry, these found the Chinese converts of the former, performing their national rites as an organic part of the Xn., they seized upon this handle to discredit their rivals at Rome. The Dominican Moralez, who came in 1631, by 1639 was openly denouncing the "idolatry of the Jesuits"; in 1645 he procured at Rome a papal decree against their policy, which in 1649 he tried to have served upon all the Jesuits in China.

But the Jesuits had now been in power in Peking for 60 years, their organization with its liberal policy had spread far and wide through China, and they had no intention of losing the rich ground they had won; so they quietly sent the most learned and tactful of their own number, Martino Martini, to Rome in 1650, who by 1656 had induced the new pope Alexander VII to reverse the decree of his successor, and endorse the liberality of the Jesuits. With this new decree he went back to China, and the Jesuits now, in higher power than ever, tried to impose its provisions on all Xn. sects. Renewed party bickerings at Rome resulted in a 3rd decree of Pope Clement IX in 1669, that each party should follow its own judgment and conscience.

This was enough for the Jesuits, for their overpowering influence in China had now been enormously increased by the conscious favor of the new Emperor Kanghi, who in the same year, 1669, gave the Jesuits high positions at Court, made them his personal teachers, urged them to send for many more learned ones, who knew both Manchu and Chinese, and accepted the

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Moreover, Verbiest, a Belgian Jesuit, but whose sympathies were French, had become the head of the order in Peking from 1664; and he now, daily at Kanghi's ear, explained to him the superior scientific knowledge and breadth of mind of the French. Trigault already had become the greatest scholar in the Chinese language, and Gerbillon accompanied Kanghi and his generals as interpreter and councillor in their great military expeditions into Western Tartary. The Dominican party was largely composed of Spaniards, Portuguese & Italians; from now on the leading Jesuits tended to become more and more French. There was a great inroad of French missionaries, and at this time, about 1660, came the famous Rougemont and Dorville, Verbiest and Couplet. (All started together, 1659.)

The splendor of the political and intellectual position of the Jesuits at Peking, now began to attract all Europe. Kanghi, the Emperor, openly sent to France, for an army of the most learned and broad-minded men, philosophers who could argue with him and his Chinese sages, who should go to the very bottom of the Chinese system, and then, if, on fair discussion, it should be proved that there should be a residuum of value in the European system, Kanghi promised that he would himself become a Christian. What a magnificent idea! What a challenge to Europe! One that it could not then meet, and has never yet met! It was only a question whether the Jesuit could be great enough to take this last step. In 1685, Louis XIV personally sent out six of the most learned young French Jesuits,

carefully trained for this delicate mission— among whom were the great names of Visdelou, Decomte, Gerbillon and Bouvet. In 1692 Kanghi issued an edict, favoring the spread of Xny. throughout China, built the Jesuits a magnificent cathedral in the grounds of his own palace, and later sent a personal embassy to the Pope, of which more hereafter.

This was the high water mark of Jesuit influence, and indeed of European influence in China, even to this day; and it was won solely by a liberal effort to understand the Chinese soul. There were difficulties, however, for the Jesuits on both hands. On the Chinese side, there was always an undercurrent of opposition from the native Mandarins, who found their power usurped by foreigners. In Europe every bigoted element in the Catholic church, the Italian and Spanish influence, was uniting with the liberals of Europe in a jealous fear and opposition against them. Their one chance to hold their advanced ground against both enemies was work, a campaign of enlightenment; to prove still more strenuously to the Chinese that European thought indorsed the best of their own, and to prove to Europe, that Chinese civilization was enlightened, liberal, the richest and most hopeful missionary field in the world, if treated with a sympathy commensurate with its worth. Above all, it was incumbent upon them to prove the value, and the harmony with European ideas, of the Confucian system in particular.

All this is most important, if we would understand just why it was that the end of the 17th century contains the

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first great outburst of knowledge of the Chinese language, and literature, and of the Confucian classics. It was not that these Frenchmen came in the pure impersonal spirit of scientific curiosity. In that day there could be no deep and general European sympathy with such a strange nation as the Chinese. The impulse to the study of language, and of Confucius springs not from abstract philological interest, but from the pure necessities of controversy. No doubt, the Jesuits who had seen the splendors of Chinese civilization with their own eyes, often found their pen spurred by genuine enthusiasm; but were it not for the great Jesuit controversy, soon to absorb the attention of all Europe, we should have had no more knowledge of Chinese and of Confucius up to the present century, than we have had of Sanskrit and Buddha.

The beginnings of European knowledge of Chinese Philology centre about the return visit to Europe, in the Jesuit cause, of two of their greatest scholars, Martini as we have seen between 1650 and 1657— and later Couplet sent in 1680 to report to the Pope, to the French court, and to Europe, on the real position of the Jesuits. Before these dates, in the first or earlier period of Jesuit influence, i. e. before the breaking out of the general controversy, little had been done. The first brief acct. of Chinese writing was given in Mendoza, but the few examples of printed characters are quite illegible. Semedo also had a chapter on "Language and letters," in the earlier editions of which some of the characters are legible. But all this was a mere beginning of popularizing the strange; there

was no scientific study. It is true that the French Jesuit Trigault had published a first Chinese dictionary in China about 1626, but only two or three copies sifted into Europe later. Other dictionaries of this date are mentioned, but they were either not printed, or have remained unknown.

The real beginning, so far as Europe was concerned was Martini. He was born in Trente in 1614, had arrived at China in 1643, and was soon writing tracts in Chinese. Selected as Jesuit envoy to the Pope in 1650, it was his long delay in Europe, which enabled him, the first learned Sinologue to return from China, to impress his knowledge on Europe.

Passing through Holland, he wrote his great *Atlas Sinensis*, 171 pages of text, and 17 plates, which embodied the first accurate geographical knowledge of China's interior, in 1655. This was first publ. in the collection of Blaeu—and afterward in many editions. The French edition of Thevenot has no plates. Also in Holland he taught Chinese to a scholar, Golius, who in Blaeu's collection added the paper "*De Regno Catayo*" in which he employs many readable Chinese characters. Everywhere Martini was asked to lecture and to write upon China; and the most important of these works is a beginning of Chinese History published as "*Decas Prima*"—362 pages in 1658. Thevenot in his synopsis of Chinese History supplements this with a "*Decas Secunda*" based upon a Persian MS. Le Peletier 1692, wrote *Historie de la Chine*, 2 vols. based upon Martini. Du Halde also used Martini. In 1657 he carried back to China many young French missionaries, and died at Hangchow in

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1661.*

*One of the most interesting things about Martini is his affectionate labor to identify and verify the records of Marco Polo, particularly the interior geography of China. From Martini, rather than from Ramusio, the belief in Polo slowly revives.

Another work which came out but a little after Martini's, was Kircher's "Chinese Illustrata," publ. in Latin at Amsterdam in 1667. The chief value of this lies in a complete publication of the Singanfu inscription in Chinese, with a translation by the Jesuit Boyun, that had fallen into the hands of Kircher, who knew no Chinese himself. This was the longest Chinese text publ. in Europe till nearly our day, and gave a first chance to compare many characters in sentences, with their translation. In the original edition, numbers, printed at the side of the characters, referred to words in the Latin tr. But in the French translation of Kircher in 1670 these numbers, though retained, have naturally no correspondence with the words of the French version. This French edition, however, is valuable for the first brief Chinese-French vocabulary published in Europe. All this, however, was more a curiosity, than of real philological value.*

*Also appeared in Spanish in 1676, the work of Navarrete, "Tratados historicos, politicos, ethicos, y religiosos de la Monarchia de China," which awakened much controversy, but had to wait till 1732 for a partial English translation. In 1744 appeared a 3rd edition with a complete English translation entitled "An account of the Empire of China, historical, political, moral and religious, by Navarrete. with an addition of the decrees and bulls of the Pope." This, then, though late, served at

the end of the 2nd subperiod, to sum up the Jesuit controversy.

The real serious work of this second Jesuit period, however, began with the return to Europe of Couplet in 1680. He brought over a great many MSS. letters from Jesuits in China, concerning the rites.*

*Couplet is the man who tried to persuade Rome to allow divine service to be performed in the Chinese language—instead of Latin.

He also acquired pupils in Europe, previous to his return in 1692, the chief of whom was Mentzel, who publ. a Latin-Chinese vocab. in 1685, and prepared part of the MS. for a classic Sinica and a Lexicon-Sinicum, which were never printed. Couplet also brought a Chinese scholar from Nanking, Tchín-Fo-tsong, who at Oxford furnished to Thomas Hyde material for his dissertations, notably his "Syntagwa" 1747. Also Couplet brought over with him the MSS. of Magalhaens' "Doze Excellencias da China," written in Portuguese in 1668, wh. he had Berrou translate into French, and published as the "Nouvelle Relation de la Chine," 1688. This work is the first great general work on China since Semedo (1642) and is written from the full consciousness of the Jesuits of the grandeur of China, and of the importance of their policy.*

*It contains the first list of books published in Chinese by the Jesuit missionaries.

Magalhaen has a long chapter on the letters and language of China, containing some characters; and a commentary on Cum fu suis— of whom he says, "Our fathers who came to

Ernest F. Fenoilosa's "Notes for History of Influence of China upon the Western World" this mission begin with these books in their studies of Chinese, because they can at once best know (by these) the beauty of the language, and the large spirit of this nation." This work of Magalhaens' was translated into English and published in 1688, and is the 3rd of the great series after Mendoza & Semedo, the first of the new period.*

*"A New History of China, containing a description of the most considerable particulars of that vast Empire" tr. by John Ogilby. London 1688. (just arrived in our Library)

But the greatest thing that Couplet brought over was the important MSS. entitled "Confucius Sinarum Philosophus"—written in Latin, and which he had publ. at once in Paris 1687. This on the cover is said to be written by Father Intorcetta, the French Rougemont, his friend Herdtricht, and Couplet himself. Cordier thinks that much of the material was taken from De Costa, a Portuguese Jesuit who had died at Canton in 1666. Intorcetta wrote the Life of Confucius, Couplet was general editor, and prepared the chronological tables.

This was the first great revelation to the world of Confucius, and the enormous power of his system; and it also appeared as a triumphant campaign document for the Jesuits. It contains a full translation into Latin of 3 of the Confucian books, the *Tahio* (or Great Learning)—the *Tchong-Yong* (or Spring classic) and the *Lunyu*, (or *Analects*). The last of these is an original work of Confucius, written down by his pupils in notes from his lectures.

Of the positive value of these translations, as of the later

ones of the Jesuit Noel, Remusat in 1815 has a poor opinion. He says they are long-winded, polished up into complex sentences about 8 times too long, and most unlike the terse, condensed, and simple style of the original. Also they are full of errors, and he vaguely charges the Jesuit translation of knowing much more of Manchu than of Chinese, and of having derived some of their material through Manchu versions. Nevertheless it was a great attempt, and from this day, (the period of Dryden) let us say, Confucius became known as one of the great sages of the world.*

*In Europe the Great Philosopher and Mathematician Leibnitz became specially interested in China, and corresponded with the Jesuits, especially with Bouvet, who came back to Europe for a short visit, bringing Chinese volumes as a present to the French King from Kanghi— He published in 1697 his "Etat present de la Chine," and has left a Chinese dictionary in MS.

Leibnitz believed that the Chinese written language had not grown like other languages, but had been invented as a complete logical system by some great philosophic sage.

In 1669 John Webb had already written his "Historical Essay, Endeavoring a probability that the Language of the Empire of China is the Primitive Language." London

But, in spite of all these efforts, a gathering storm was soon to fall upon the shoulders of the Jesuits. Their very success consolidated opposition. Two kinds of Xn. congregation had already risen in China. The Jesuit and the anti Jesuit, the latter very unpopular, because it required of converts the abrogation of all Chinese rites. A missionary society of clergy opposed to the Jesuits had been started (in Paris) in 1663. In

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1684 it sent out a powerful delegate, Maigrot, whom the Pope made a post— vicar. He proceeded cautiously, but by 1693 he declared open war with the Jesuits, forbade their practices, but was laughed at by them. The complaint was carried again to the Pope. All the enemies of the Jesuits in Europe, liberal and conservative, united to support the claim of Maigrot. Jealousy was at the root of it. The condition of the Jesuits was so opposed to all tradition of the poor missionary who suffered poverty and death in branding heathen idols in forlorn islands. Here was a close corporation of renegades, dressing in rich silks and jade buttons, living as high class Mandarins at the Emperor's table, with the boards of mathematics, geography, ordnance, and public works under their headship, to a large extent the virtual administrators of China;—and buying this comfort and power at the price of tolerating and even worshipping heathen idols. In vain the Jesuits pleaded the truth, that this was the sole possible way for European thought and power to make headway in China, to amalgamate rather than to antagonize; in vain they strove to prove that Confucian doctrine and practice in no sense violated a Xn faith broadly interpreted.

In 1699 Pope Innocent XII appointed a special committee, broadly constituted to try the case, which could no longer be suppressed, as Clement XI, who favored the Jesuits, tried to do in 1700, because the controversy had aroused the bitter partisanship of all Europe. A war of able pamphlets was exchanged; and the great bulk of the enormous literature mentioned in

the bibliographies dates from this time, roughly from 1695 to 1710.*

*Among these minor publications, one great book stands out in the controversies of this distracted time. Louis Lecomte, born in 1655, was one of the special French Jesuits sent to China by Louis XIV in 1685, where he soon became a leading student of Chinese. At the height of the religious discussion, he returned to France, as had Couplet 15 years before, and published his great book "Nouveaux Memoires sur l'etat present de la Chine" 3 vols. Paris 1696 (1697-1700)! This has been recognized by Cordier and modern scholars, as the best book so far written on China, and most important for the study of the rites. It was a splendid eulogy of Chinese civilization, and of the Confucian system, and was the master card in the hands of the Jesuits. This ran through a large number of French editions in 5 years to which the author added something. Lecomte said that the Chinese had always known and worshipped the true God.

The first English translation was published in London in 1697. "Memoirs and observations topographical, physical, mathematical, mechanical, natural, civil, and ecclesiastical." This had 527 pp. & was illustrated. The 2nd Eng. edition 1698, had a longer acct. of Confucius. There was a 3d English edition in 1699. But the intense interest awakened by this extremely radical book can be inferred from the fact of a new translation, publ. London, as late as 1737, which went through 3 editions in 3 years. It was republished abridged in Philadelphia in 1787.

Before 1700 it had been tr. into Italian, German, & Dutch. But it was soon put on the Catholic list of condemned books; and has stood ever since, as the advance post of the enemies of the established order. As late as 1761 it was burned by decree at Paris.

And now in the midst of this controversy at Rome, a most extraordinary thing occurred. Kanghi, the great Emperor, now on the throne and friend of the Jesuits for 40 years, well understood the full depth of the issue, that it was nothing less than

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whether Xndom would insist on breaking down the organic constitution of the Chinese Empire. The action of the Dominicans was already a warning, and the Mandarins were grumbling behind the throne. In this extreme case, Kanghi, one of the greatest Emperors of China, voluntarily appeared, by letter to the Pope and by representation, before the Court at Rome, as witness and advocate for the Jesuits, guaranteeing that the Confucian and ancestral rites had a political and social rather than a religious significance. 1000 Chinese and Moslem dignitaries, both Xns. and unconverted, also made oath over their signatures that Kanghi's interpretation was correct.

What a picture this is— of the Chinese Empire and the Chinese Emperor, pleading in company with the Jesuits, against the bigotry and intolerance of all Europe, pleading for the bare humanity of their own beautiful institutions, pleading for the only basis on which Chinese and European cultures could possibly live in harmony. All that has happened since, the increasing outrages of Europeans in the East, the slowly awakening resentment of the Chinese, our literary knowledge of the worth of that ancient civilization, confirms the justice of their cause. Had they prevailed, China would probably have been a Xn. nation for the last two centuries. But, in spite of the fact that the Jesuits had by far the more able writers; in spite of the certainty that all the ground gained in China would be lost, the enemies of the Jesuits preferred ruin of the Xn. cause to the success of their rivals; and in 1704 the holy office reached the conclusion, that the Chinese *heaven* and *God* should

not be recognized, that the Spring and Autumn Services to Shangte in the temple of heaven, should not be participated in by Xns., rites to Confucius and ancestors must be abolished, and the ancestral tablets removed from Xn. houses. This gave the death blow to European chances in China; it established a narrow and disastrous programme upon which almost all missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, have worked in China, until this day.

To be sure, the Jesuits in China refused to accept the decision; and when the papal legate, Fourmon, arrived in China in 1705— and in 1707 tried to restrain the Jesuits, they openly attacked him and appealed again to the Pope. But all this struggling of the Jesuits, (which went on indeed down to 1740— and in a very restricted degree even to 1810) was really in vain, because the Chinese court and Emperor, in the face of this Xn. civil war, refused to back their former friends. It was one thing to appeal to the Pope, another to fight him. Kanghi was angry, and in 1707 promulgated an edict forbidding all Xn. priests, of whatever denomination, to preach anything contrary to the laws of the Empire. Those who followed Fourmon and the Dominicans were persecuted. Fourmon himself ran away to Macao. What answer had the Emperor now to give his Mandarins who urged upon him that the Xn. authorities were evidently bent on destroying China?*

*Kanghi even tried to stop commercial relations with Europeans.

In 1710 Rome rejected the Jesuit appeal, and prohibited

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the publication of any more books concerning Chinese ceremonies, condemning all that might appear, and especially condemning the "Nouveau Memoires" of Lecomte. Still the Jesuits resisted, and in 1715 Clement XI issued the famous bull, denouncing the Jesuits, and requiring of all missionaries in China to take an oath of direct allegiance to him. This was brought secretly to China, and the Legate, Castorani, sprang it upon them in the Xn. churches at Peking. The Emperor Kanghi, now an old man, was exceedingly angry, imprisoned Castorani, issued an edict of banishment against all foreigners who obeyed the Pope rather than himself, and decreed death to all Chinese converts who obeyed the Pope. It was an open battle now between the Chinese Emperor and the Pope, as it had been in Japan a century earlier. The Jesuits still held their place at Court, but in growing disfavor, due in no wise to their own fault.*

*In 1717 the Export of rice was forbidden, and Kanghi also prohibited the sailing of Chinese vessels to foreign ports, in this, but too late, imitating the Japanese. Again and again the foreign captains, including the English, had acted like pirates. The Manchus said "These Westerners are like beasts and quite unamenable to civilized human law." They may well repeat this today.

In this extremity the Pope sent a personal representative, in a great dignitary of the Church, Mezzobarba, directly to the Emperor, who arrived in 1820. He was very clever, and with much tact had friendly arguments with Kanghi. Still Kanghi at best, said of the papal bull, that its absurdities could apply at most to Europeans— and not to Chinese at all— and that if

the Jesuits were legally bound by it, the only thing to do was to prohibit all Europeans whatever preaching in China. But it appears that this Mezzobarba had been secretly charged by the Pope, in the last extremity, to yield something to the Jesuits; and now, fearful that the whole cause of the church in China would be lost, he compromised, and issued from Macao indulgences to the Jesuits, permitting some use of the Chinese rites. At this the new pope, Innocent 13th was so angry, that he ordered all Jesuits back from China, but his death in 1721 stopped the order.

Then came a great crisis. In 1722, Kanghi, the greatest Chinese friend that Europe ever had, died, after a reign of 62 years. Everything centred upon what his fourth son, and his successor, Yungching, would do. The Jesuits used every effort to retain their position; but the new Emperor memorialized by the Mandarins sternly declared for a Chinese policy, issued an edict against all Xns, destroyed their churches throughout the Empire, allowed local governors to persecute all priests who kept up their work in the provinces, excluded all Europeans from political office, (made all Chinese Xns. ineligible to office) and banished all Jesuits to Macao, except a few who were retained for scientific purposes at Peking. This order, however, was not strictly carried out, and the Jesuits still kept up their worship at Peking, Canton, and some other places although the Emperor refused to receive them in audience.*

*In a last angry dispute with the Jesuits, Yungching had roared, "Don't hope to deceive me as you have deceived my father."

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The old disputes between the two factions still went on, and in 1742, the pope issued a new bull, annulling Mezzobarba's indulgences, and openly denouncing the Jesuits as a luxurious set.

Even yet, however, the Jesuits disobeyed. The new Emperor Yungching had died in 1735—and Kienlung, his son, and grandson of the great Kanghi, a great man and a learned scholar, had come to the throne; and upon him the Jesuits placed all their renewed hopes. And, in fact, he mildly revoked some of the worst features of the edict against the Jesuits. But he still firmly forbade any subjects from becoming Xns, and calmly waited for the old generation of Chinese Xns. to die out, a generation from whom he removed the disability of holding office.*

*But in 1746 several Spanish missionaries were arrested and tortured for violating the decrees. During his long reign, also of 62 years, this position of truce was maintained; but the Jesuits never again held office, and were tolerated only as convenient workmen and artisans at Peking. In this limited field they did perhaps better literary work;—but the whole consideration of Kienlung's reign, and of this later missionary period, belongs to the 3rd subperiod, of those into which I have divided my 4th or modern period. Now before closing my account, (already too long, but justified by its importance) of the 2nd subperiod, I must speak of its remaining literary and linguistic works. After the works of Martini, Kircher, Magalhaen, Navarrete, Couplet, and Lecomte, (already spoken of) the next in time of the important ones was by the Jesuit father Noel—in Latin, a translation of 6 out of the recognized Chinese classics, including for the first time Mencius.

"Sinensis Imperii Libri classici Lex" Prague 1711

a French version was publ. in 1784—

But even before this, in 1703, had been printed in Canton the first great study of Chinese grammar, by Father Varo, assisted by Basil da Glemona. Varo had arrived in China in 1654. This work, extremely rare, was entitled “Arte de la Lingua Mandarina” and only 2 or 3 copies came much later to Europe. One fortunately fell into the hands of Fourmont.

In 1725 Thomas Salmon in England began a popular publication “Modern History, a present state of all Nations,” in which he gave much attention to China, compiling from all available sources. This went through many editions in a few years, and was translated into Italian, French, Dutch and German.

In 1729, was published by Silhouette at Paris “Idée Générale du gouvernement et de la Morale des Chinoises, tirée particulièrement des ouvrages de Confucius.” This was not translated into English, but in 1733— came out the great culminating work of the Jesuit school, in the compilation of Du Halde. This is the next most important general work after Lecomte. Du Halde was a Jesuit at Paris, in close communication with all the fathers in China, and acting in some sense as their editor. He was secretary to Tellier, the confessor of Louis XIV.

In 1733, the work was pre-announced as “Description Géographique de l’Empire de la Chine,” but in 1735 it appeared at Paris in 4 volumes with plates entitled “Description Géographique, historique, chronologique, et politique de l’Empire

Ernest F. Fenollosa's "Notes for History of Influence of China upon the Western World" de la Chine." This great work, summing up all knowl[edge] to its day, but with Jesuit bias, went through many French editions and translations in a few years. The next year 1736 it appeared in English at London as "The General History of China" 4 vols. Meanwhile D'Anville had published at the Hague in 1737—a "Nouvel atlas de la Chine"—

In 1738, Cave made a new translation of parts of Du Halde, including the new matter of D'Anville—called "A Description of the Empire of China" London. 2 vols. 1738—

It is this form of Du Halde which had wide popular influence in England, and led to many articles in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which I have had no time yet to examine.

besides this specific work of Du Halde, it is most important to mention the great series of volumes of letters and minor memoirs sent home by the Jesuits in China, and which were pub. in French year by year under the name of "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses"—begun in 1702 after volume 26th publ. in 1743—Du Halde died. The later volumes belong to the history of the 3rd subperiod, as do other series, such as "Memoires concernant les Chinois".

These Lettres "Edifiantes", never tr. into English, but contain an enormous amt. of valuable material, never yet digested; and were indeed a chief source, from which the English students of Chinese culture in the following period, drew their material.*

*Also we should mention some 16 Chinese and European MS. dic-

tionaries, of the Jesuits in the Library of Napoleon 1st—, of which Langer published a notice in le “Magazin Encyclopédique” An, VIII-t-z.

Still, before closing, I ought to mention briefly that at this very end of the 2nd subperiod, Chinese studies have been practically transplanted to Europe in the work of Bayer and Fourmont.

Bayer was a German (1694-1738) who worked at St. Petersburg— and there published his *Museum Sinicum* in 1730, which contains a history of Chinese studies in Europe, a grammar, a lexicon (poor or brief indeed) and a treatise on weights and measures.

Fourmont's work is much more important. He is the father of European Sinologues. Born in 1683—at the age of 20 he was already a Hebrew & Syriac scholar. In 1711, the Bishop of Rosalie brought back from China to France, a young Chinese secretary named Hoang, whom Louis XIV made interpreter in his Royal Library, and from whom he demanded a Chinese grammar & dictionary. But Hoang had no idea what a grammar was, so Fourmont was put to supervise his work. Hoang unfortunately died in 1716, and all his papers fell into Fourmont's hands. Fourmont also got a copy of Varo's grammar, as we have seen;* and with these and the Chinese books in the Library, he undertook without a teacher to master the Chinese language.

*he also had a MS. work of Couplet, *Scientia Sinica*, containing some

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texts & interlinear translation from Confucius, and notes on analysis of characters by Intorcetta.

In 1719 he produced for the first time in Europe a list of the 214 radicals. He planned out a great dictionary and thesaurus of Chinese learning, under the personal patronage of the Duc of Orleans,— as afterwards when he became Louis XV. Many artists and engravers were employed, and 100,000 splendid large wood types of Chinese characters were cut.

But Fourmont was one of those ambitious and tactless men who try to do too much; and he was frequently denounced as a charlatan, and his work interrupted. He never published the dictionary. But finally in 1737 he published a part of his grammar in Latin called "*Meditationes Sinicae*" and in 1742, his "*Linguae Sinorum Mandarinicae hieroglyphicae Grammaticae Duplex*"— to this was attached his "*Catalogue des livres chinois de la Bibliothèque du Roi.*" He wrote many other minor papers, but by far the greater part of his work remained in MSS. at his death in 1745.

Though Fourmont's work is full of error, and later despised by Remusat, yet Cordier speaks highly of it as genuine study from original materials; and surely the intense enthusiasm in which he praised and expounded the rich nature of the Chinese language, awakened the interest of all Europe. Now in closing, let me tabulate the 1st edition of the great books in English (and the greatest of all the books) publ. during the 1st & 2nd sub-periods.

Mandeville 1499— (3d period)

Akiko Murakata

Polo	1579	(3d period)
Mendoza	1588	(4th period)
Odoric	1599	(3d period)
Semedo	1655	(4th period)
Magalhaens	1688	
Lecomte	1697	
Du Halde	1736	
Navarrete (delayed tr.)	1744	

But it must be noticed that though now, at the end of this 2d sub-period, a serious study of the Chinese mind had begun, yet controversialists were still chiefly exercised by the problems—whether Chinese was the original language of man, and spoken by Adam; whether it came from the confusion of tongues at Babel; whether it came from Egypt; whether the Chinese were not the lost tribe of Israel, whether the language came from Shem or Ham, of Noah's sons. Kircher conjectured that Hermes Trismegistus may have first planned out the Chinese hieroglyphics. Others favored Japhet. And Protestant scholars, such as Edkins, almost down to our day, have worked seriously over such questions.

3d Sub-period—(1740-1810)

The influence of the works of the 2nd subperiod (just discussed) upon the imaginative literature of Europe in its own day may be declared to be almost *nil*. In France it was the classic period of Louis XIV. In England it was Augustan age from Dryden to Pope. The fires of Elizabethan discovery and

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romance was dead. The great commercial and scientific democracy of modern times was not conceived. The true influence of the long work of the preceding period from 1660 to 1740 could be felt only in after results; and during this third subperiod from 1740 to 1810 the most interesting phase to remark is a decided effect of these long studies upon the popular imagination of France, and especially of England.

But before touching on this most interesting phase, it will be well to throw a glance upon new contemporary work on the part of the scholars themselves. This will not be difficult because the next 70 years will be a period poorest of all in the production of great books and scholars. In France the disciples of Fourmont were a weak set. In England there arose no Sinologue till Hager in 1801 published his "Elementary Characters."*

*One of the principal disputes in Europe at this time is whether the Chinese are identical with the ancient Egyptians.

Only among the French Jesuits working on at their limited role in Peking was the spark of scholarship kept alive, and the sum of knowledge added to. We may call this therefore, the 3d Jesuit period at Peking, and the period of popularization in Europe.

First Peking. We might also call this period that of the reign of Kienlung, who, when he found himself on the throne 62 yrs. abdicated rather than surpass the record of his grandfather Kanghi. Kienlung, though a great ruler, was also a scholar, and surrounded himself with scholars. He was especially a

student of early Chinese classical poetry; and the edition of the Tang poets which I have been studying for the last three years with Prof. Mori at Tokio is of the Emperor's own editorship and commendation. Just received from Japan. Great patron of arts he was, too; and one of the most interesting chapters in the Jesuit memoirs recounts his relations to the two Jesuit painters who lived in his palace. He was himself no mean poet.

During his whole reign, the Jesuit question remained in abeyance. His favor was that of a courteous master to servants; the new generation of missionaries had no administrative functions to occupy their time; and could write as many treatises and edifying letters as they chose, in the leisure of their secular duties.

In 1767 a delegation of Chinese subjects visited France, and returning made their native land acquainted with the wealth and power of Europe. The Jesuit letters to France, and the French interest in Chinese literature, especially Voltaire's, who wrote personally to Kienlung praising Father Amiot's translation of his poems, cemented friendship.

In 1793 came the first important English mission, that of Lord Macartney, which Kienlung received in his beautiful Chinese garden villa at Jehol, near Peking. Anderson's and Staunton's account of this journey, publ. 1795 and 1797 respectively, are the first modern works of the description of China, as Staunton is the first English scholar who could translate directly from Chinese. Staunton is said to have learned from the works of Fourmont.

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It was during Kienlung's reign that the enormous growth in Chinese population took place, according to Chinese statistics, from 60,000,000 in 1737 to 300,000,000 in 1792. The Emperor was very much concerned at this misfortune; and indeed from the enormous changes toward uniformity and stolidity and official corruption which in China have followed this change, we have nothing but foreboding conclusion to draw concerning the probable effect of the enormous accession to Western populations which the 20th century will produce.

In 1796— Kienlung abdicated; and his successor Kiaking finally expelled the Jesuits, including the veteran Father Amiot (a resident of 30 years) from Peking to Macao. In fact now the whole Jesuit question had been overshadowed by the new portentous one of foreign trade. The subject, however, belongs to the 4th subperiod.

The chief of the new Jesuit works that appeared during this third subperiod, was as follows. Several were composed by the earlier men of Louis XIV in the 2d period, but did not reach Europe till later. Visdelou who died in 1737 prepared most of the material for a 4th volume of D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, in the new edition of 1777— Basil of Glemona had prepared his great dictionary for use of preachers in China by 1726; but it was not published before De Guigue's in 1813.

Gaubil 1689-1759—(Ch. 1723) was one of the later men, who had been raised by Kienlung to Director General of the Imperial Colleges. Here he taught the young Tartar nobles Latin.*

*It is said of Gaubil that his kn[owledge] of Chinese was so great

that the Chinese revered him as Sage and Master. Gaubil was the man who dared openly to dispute with the Emperor Yungching, the son of Kanghi.

He wrote many papers for Europe, but his chief work is a translation of the Shu King, the great Confucian book of early History, which was not published in Europe until 1770, 11 yrs. after his death. Father Amiot said of this that it was the Genesis of Chinese Scripture, and the constitutional basis of the Empire.

About the same time, 1777 to 1783, was published in Paris De Mailla's first great general history of China in 12 vols. This is a direct translation of an abridged classic Chinese original; and has never been superseded in Europe, as a whole, to this day.*

*Father Lacharme, too, translated the Shi King, or book of odes into Latin, but this was not published till 1830. In the same way Father Regis and others translated the Yih King, or book of changes, also not published till 1834.

But the greatest work of all was done by Father Amiot himself. His letter on the genius of the Chinese language appeared at Brussels in 1770— His Life of Confucius was published at Paris in 1787—But his greatest work is a large collection of miscellaneous papers in 16 vols— “Mémoires sur l’histoire, les sciences, les arts, et les usages des Chinois”— (others contributed) published in Paris from 1776 to 1814—Among these appear acc[oun]ts of Chinese music and poetry, and a life and doctrine (for the first time) of Laotse. Remusat, Pauthier, and

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later Sinologues have largely drawn from Amiot.

But it was not so much these new works, as the old ones of the 2nd subperiod which had now penetrated through the crust of outer curiosity, to the vital imagination of European peoples. For the first time Chinese was no longer a vague myth; but a comprehensible race of brother human beings. Moreover the England of the Augustan age was passing away; and germs of genuine interest and expression, suppressed almost since Gothic days, were blossoming in isolated spots. Indeed, we have to go right to the very sources of the so-called Romantic movement in England, in order to find the sources of the Chinese movement also. I had the pleasure of hearing Dr. Underbutt's first lecture on the origins of the romantic movement, and since then I have examined Beers, and other explorers of the 18th C. But I am strongly impressed with the fact that the outcome of this course will be to add a more human interest in the Orient, notably in the new knowledge of China, to the sum of causes of the Romantic movement. Just as we saw in the 13th C. that remarkable man, Rusticiano of Pisa, the Scribe of Marco Polo, interesting himself at once in the Western Arthurian Romances, and the wilder Eastern Romances of his Venetian Aladdin; so was it almost a shock of joy to discover Bishop Thomas Percy, the recreator of our interest in Medieval chivalry, to be at the same time the first appreciative English critical writer on Chinese culture. Here we pass beyond the realm of chronicles and philology; (of course Percy was no Sinologist); and reach a point where Chinese

culture demands a serious critical comparison with our own. To be sure the Jesuits, in their local enthusiasm, had essayed this comparison; but it was another matter to awaken the interest of European critics.

And a point ought to be made, that, in this serious interest in China, we have a movement different from whatever wild romantic interest was taken, and about to be taken, on the nearer Levant, Persia and Arabia. The Philosophic knowledge of West Asiatic literature, had come earlier than Chinese; but the strange glamor of its highly colored contents found an echo in the memory of the crusades, and rather led to a riot of vague romantic imagination, than found place in new serious efforts at social interpretation. But the spirit of Chinese literature and philosophy was quite different, not vague and exaggerated, but positive and humanistic, and able to challenge Xn. thought to its foundations. Thus Montesquieu could devote 9 chapters of his "Esprit des Lois" to Chinese Polity, and the Court architect, Sir W^m Chambers, could compare the principles of Chinese architecture with Greek.

I believe the field to be so rich that I am justified in defining the 70 years of the 3d subperiod as a popularization in Europe of Chinese knowledge. This is even more striking than the popularizations of the 19th C. In this latter we have been concerned more with a deeper philosophical study; the great China of the days of Kienlung has degenerated through overpopulation, official corruption and civil war; and European nations have naturally come to despise an impotent people

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whom they can bully and browbeat. We make too much today of a difference in scientific attainments, which was not so marked in the 18th C; and too little of an identity in the great principles of humanity and social ethics. And we should possibly never have come to know how great and splendid a culture the Chinese once possessed, were it not for a living specimen, surviving under specially favorable conditions, in the islands of Japan.

Although I have had no time to more than begin to explore this field, yet I think it will be interesting to you to share even in the first sheaf of results. We should probably find the beginning of this movement in the early English magazines, though the story of "Hilda the Chinese Princess" in the *Spectator* No. 584—Aug. 24, 1714 (to which Mr. Chase gave us the reference) I have found to be in no sense whatever Chinese. It seems too that we should search through the small ephemeral volumes published for popular reading in the middle of the century, and now forgotten. Also there must have been a host of minor historical and statistical compilations, such as the *Salmon* of which I have spoken. But it is also important to notice that there was much in the work of strong men, men who have left the imprint of their thought upon their generation and upon all time, men like Voltaire, Montesquieu, Percy, Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, and Sir W^m Chambers.

It seems as if the strongest single stimulus came from the publication of Du Halde, the summing up of the work of the 2nd subperiod. French in 1735—English in 1736. This already

contained a translation by Father Premaire, of a typical early Chinese Drama of the Yuen Dynasty, "The Orphan of the House of Chow." It was in the Yuen or Mongol Dynasty, while Marco Polo was in China, that the Chinese drama proper received its first creative development. The Ming dynasty enlarged the style of play and vulgarized it; the simpler Yuen style was forgotten; and when the Compilers of the present dynasty went back to study it, of the fragments which they found, they have preserved for us only 100 of the Mongol dramatic pieces. This is No. 85 of the compilation. (I hope to speak at the next meeting of the Oriental Society, upon the influence of this Mongol dramatic school upon the Japanese classic drama of the 15th Century.) It is this one specimen, sent to Europe by the Jesuits that stimulated a vast wave of criticism and imitation.

The first piece of which I have been able to find mention, in the British Museum Cat. is entitled "The Chinese Orphan," an historical tragedy altered from a specimen of the Chinese tragedy in Du Halde's History of China, interspersed with songs after the Chinese manner. W. Hatchett, pp. 75, L. 1741. This has been ordered for the Columbia Library, it appears to have been intended as one acting play for the English stage.

In 1752 Thomas Percy, then a young and unknown man, published in a book of miscellanies to be spoken of hereafter, a new careful translation of the Chinese play from the French original of Premaire in Du Halde. He says in his preface that there have been already two English versions of Du Halde, but

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that their loose and florid style must greatly differ from the terse and crude Chinese original, and that he, while working literally from the French, has arrived at what he believes to be Chinese quality. This was the first hint, not excepting the Jesuits, that the genius of the Chinese language, and of simple terse English is almost the same, a matter that even modern scholars have not sufficiently recognized.

In the same year, 1752, appeared a great departure in Italian opera, in a libretto by the versatile Metastasio, entitled "Il Heroe da China," which he admits in his letters to have been suggested by Du Halde. It was a great success. A Spanish edition of the text came out in 1799.

In 1755 was acted at Paris Voltaire's latest tragedy in 5 acts, the "Orphelin de la Chine." The general plot of this is founded upon Du Halde, namely the sacrifice by a steward of his own son, to save the life of his dead master's. This motive, identical with that of some of the most intense Japanese dramas of today, is based upon the passion of loyalty, which Voltaire thought too mean and strange to interest the public; so he makes the tyrant Ghengiz Khan, the prince to be saved, the last scion of the Sung house of Hangchow, and the steward the former prime minister.

This ran for 16 nights, and the audience was in tears. But Lion, the commentator on the tragedies of Voltaire 1895, in his chapter on the "Orphelin" criticizes Voltaire for departing from the simplicity of the Chinese motive. For Voltaire, fearing that even Ghengiz was too remote from what a modern

N. Y. editor would call "Human Interest," wished to bring in a love-motive, and makes Ghenghiz fall in love with the mother of the son to be sacrificed, whom he will spare, if she yields. Ghengiz finally commends her chastity, and spares both the son and heir. Anything more unoriental can hardly be conceived. In Voltaire's aftercomment, he says "I ought to have painted with more characteristic traits the fierceness of Tartars, and the ethics of the Chinese. The scene should have been in a Confucian hell, and the prime minister speaking with the authority of Confucius." At this Lion scoffs and says "Did not the original already present the most marvellous school of virtue? And was not the focussing upon the intense pathos of a striving which should die for the other, enough for a powerful drama?" So Voltaire's lugging in Mongols for local color was too grotesque. And of course Genghiz never was Emperor of China, Lion calls him a "rose-water" Genghiz.

But in spite of defects, this play of Voltaire was a great innovation on the French stage; and how important an innovation is shown in this fact, that Clairon, the great French actress, who took the part of the mother, an actress who had long wished a reform in the direction of quiet diction and simple historic costume, took this occasion to break with all the classic traditions of the French stage. Heretofore Brutuses and Alexanders, & Iphigenies had appeared puffed and powdered, and wigged and skirted— Here, for the first time, Clairon appeared with bare arms. Never mind that this was most Unchinese! Of course all the costumes were monstrosities. A Portuguese

Ernest F. Fenollosa's "Notes for History of Influence of China upon the Western World" ed. of Volt.'s tragedy was published at Lisbon in 1783.

But this was not the end of the matter. In 1759 appeared in London "The Orphan of China, a tragedy, as it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by Arthur Murphy—" 2nd edition. The first edition came out probably the year before.

The 2nd edition is in our Library, bound up with others of Murphy's tragedies, who seems to have been a prolific writer for the English stage between 1750 and 1800. In an elaborate open letter dated April 30th 1759— Murphy addresses Voltaire, apologizes for stealing his plot and then altering it to suit himself, and protests that he has kept better to the spirit of the Chinese original in Du Halde. He scoffs at "Le chevalier Genjis Kan" and says truly that the mother too much resembles Andromache.

In Murphy's version, the Chinese heir finally expels the Tartar tyrant, alluding to the fall of the Mongol dynasty. Again, in a most unChinese way, Murphy makes everything turn on mother love for her own child, rather than loyalty to her royal master. This would disgust an oriental. The tyrant, too, Murphy mixes up with Marlowe's Tamerlane, for he declares,

"Thus

Shall Timour Khan display his conquering banners,
From high Samarkand's walls, to where the Tanais
Devolves his icy tribute to the sea."

The third act is a whispered conspiracy in the tombs of the

Chinese Kings.

But the chief interest to us of the piece, lies in its sign of a tremendous break coming in English taste. Lion tells us that in France already people, tired of the classic drama, were deserting the *Comédie Française*. In the prologue to this piece of Murphy, William Whitehead, said to be the poet laureate of that day, writes

“Enough of Greece and Rome! Th’exhausted store
Of either nation now can charm no more.
Ev’n adventitious helps in vain we try.
Our triumphs languish in the public eye
.....

On eagle wings the poet of tonight
Soars far fresh virtues to the source of light,
to China’s Eastern realms; and boldly bears
Confucius’ morals to Britanni’s ears.

But later the Poet Laureate thinks an apology is due to British Whigs—loyalty to a dynastic prince is altogether too undemocratic a motive.

“One dubious character, we own, he draws,
A patriot jealous in a monarch’s cause

From nobler motive *our* allegiance springs
For Britain knows no right divine in Kings!”
Could Alfred Austin have done better?

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This work was written by Murphy at age of 22. He wrote better his tragedies and comedies in blank verse. But the interesting fact is that this play kept the stage for 60 years! It was republished separately as late as 1811. It also appeared in the collection,

"The Modern British Drama" in 1811.
in 1815—in "Dibdin"
and in 1824 in "The London Stage."

But before we learn the Chinese drama, we must speak of the special critical attitude of Richard Hurd, afterward Bishop of Worcester, and a learned classical scholar. He was born in 1720— In 1776 was preceptor to the Prince of Wales—In 1788 the King and Queen, the Duke of York, and several princesses visited him at his Castle Hartlebury. He was the friend of Warburton, and bought Warburton's library after his death. Gibbon called him a great critic.

Now, (as in the case of Percy), the interest of Hurd was double—that is, his "letters on chivalry and romance" (3d edition 1765) helped to initiate the romantic movement, and at the same time he was one of the first critical writers on the Chinese movement. Beers gives 7 pages to Hurd in his chapter on the Gothic revival. Says he was the first to praise the Gothic in literature and art. Thus he comprised under one broad catholic view, Gothic, classic, and Oriental.

I have been through his writings on literature carefully, and wish there were time here to present an abstract. He says the Greeks were Gothic; compares Homer with the Medieval

Romances. Hercules and Theseus are knights-errant. Jerusalem was the Troy of Europe. Spenser was essentially Gothic, Milton cared most to write about King Arthur. Even Shakespeare is greater on his Gothic side, than his classic. Then he runs down classic gardens, and praises the new free English landscape school. In another letter he shows how the false, chilling classicism came in, to kill the true universal spirit of poetry. Wm. Davenant began the bad style. Hurd tilts against Shaftesbury, Boileau and Addison. Says they killed Italian poetry in England. But one of the most interesting things he says is that Hobbes, by his materialistic philosophy, helped greatly in this bad movement. Hobbes said fairys were not according to nature.

Now it was this interesting man Hurd who, as early as 1751, when he was 31 years old published the *Epistle of Horace to Augustus*, with an English Commentary & notes "to which is added, A discourse concerning poetical imitation."

The name of Hurd was not given in this edition. A considerable portion of this discourse on imitation is taken up with an analysis of the Chinese drama, as exemplified in Du Halde, and a serious comparison of it with the Greek drama. Particularly he compares it with the *Elektra* of Sophocles. The two, he says, are nearly parallel in their laws of structure, and intense development of a single situation. This could not arise from borrowing, but must be due to separately recognized laws of form. The whole essay is a plea for form, against mere imitation. Specially he speaks of "an intermixture of songs in the passion-

Ernest F. Fenollosa's "Notes for History of Influence of China upon the Western World" ate parts (of the Chinese drama), heightened into sublime poetry; and somewhat resembling the character of the ancient (Greek) chorus." He might have gone much further if he had had other pieces to study and especially the Japanese drama. But as it is, this is the first piece, and one of the best pieces of criticism, in Europe, on Chinese art.

In 1753 a 2nd edition appeared. But before 1762, in some later edition, Hurd had been induced to drop out this Chinese part of his discourse. This Percy asserts in his miscellanies of that date; hinting that Hurd had been too much criticized, (probably by Warburton) for degrading the classic divinity of Greek masterpieces in comparing them with such low heathen rubbish. Percy himself resents the omission, declares the passage to have been a most valuable piece of criticism, and reproduces the whole extract in his miscellany.

This is all that we know of Hurd's work on the Chinese; but if his correspondence were examined, doubtless many points would turn up. It interests us, for it shows at once, how the fresh imagination of men like Hurd and Percy instinctively turned to what was constructive in Oriental work, and the dead mass of narrow prejudice against which they worked, and which has succeeded in repressing such naive force and true studies, almost to this day.

Now, before going on to speak at length of Percy's work, let me clear the way by mentioning together several other references.

Voltaire's work on Chinese culture, did not cease with his

imitation drama. He came across the Drama in studying Du Halde for material for his *Histoire Universelle*. In this he speaks at length of Chinese culture; and wrote a personal letter to Kienlung in praise of his poems, and asking for definite instruction in the Chinese theory of metre, rhyme, and stanza, i. e. poetic form.

In Social History and Ethics, Chinese example seems to have been enlightening. Salmon had included them in his *Modern History* of 1725.

The French compilation of 1783 entitled "*Collection des Moralistes Anciens*," contains a "*Pensées Morales de Confucius*," evidently drawn from "*Confucius Sinorum Philosophus*," but as over-clear and Frenchily polished, as the former work is over-diffuse.

At London in 1775—was published the 2nd edition of a popular work called "*The Chinese Novelle*," containing a geog. commercial & polit. history of China, with a partic. acct. of their customs etc. to which is prefixed the life of Confucius, 2 vols.

A work which brings us down to the end of our period is G. Hager's—*Panthéon Chinois, ou parallèle entre le culte religieux des Grecs et celui des Chinois*—1806.

Let us now go back to the work of Thomas Percy. Born in 1729—9 years after Hurd, on graduating at Oxford, he got a parish at Northampton. In 1761, at the age of 32, he published a Chinese novel, the *Han-Kion-Chooan*, or the Pleasing History—a translation from the Chinese language, to which are added 1. The Argument or Story of a Chinese Play—2. a collection of

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Chinese proverbs, 3. Fragments of Chinese Poetry—With notes.
4 vols. London 1861.

This book is not in our library, but was ordered in Dec. I am thus not able yet to give an acct. of it, though it must be of great interest. Percy must have translated this Chinese romance from a French version. But Remusat speaks of it as published in French in 1766—after Percy. Fourmont had the text of it before 1740. Sir John Davis again translated it into English in 1829. We must wait for Percy's preface, where he will probably indicate his sources. I await his remarks on poetry with special interest.

In 1762, the next year—appeared Percy's "Miscellaneous Pieces relating to the Chinese," 2 vols. This is in our library, and I have studied it at length. It shows that Percy had the keenest sense for the aesthetically important in the Chinese culture, so far as he could know it, a sense that has existed in comparatively few Europeans since his day. In his preface he states his sources. He knows all about Bayer & Fourmont, and Le Sieur Hoang, the Chinese scholar at Paris who taught Fourmont before 1716. He also refers to Semedo, Magalhaens, and Du Halde. But his keenest pleasure was found in the "Lettres edifiantes" of the Jesuits, begun in 1702. The Drama, Ethics, and the art of Gardening, are the 3 points on which he lays special stress. The pieces in the volumes are 8 in number. No. I. is—A Dissertation on the Language and Characters of the Chinese. This is based mostly on Bayer and Hoang—and is very meagre, showing that Percy had no first-hand knowledge

of Chinese— In this article he refers to some account of the characters in an English "Modern Universal History." This is probably Salmon's.

No. II. is—Rules of conduct, by a Chinese author, from the tr. in *Lettres Edifiantes* by P. Parrenin. In a letter from P. Parrenin to P. Du Halde, the editor, he admits that his original is a Manchu version. (Chang, a Chinese, was the original author. Hosu, the tutor of Kanghi's children, had supervised the tr. into Manchu, of all Chinese classics and history. In the preface Hosu says he has translated this to improve his Manchu countrymen. Parrenin informs us that no Manchu author has yet ventured to rhyme in his own language.)

No. III. is the complete Eng. tr. of "The Little Orphan of the House of Chow," already spoken of at length. There is a preliminary note by P. Premeire on the Chinese drama in general, which I will not go into here. No. IV is the reprinted extract from Hurd's Discourse. No. V. is a long translation from the German of "Authentic Memoirs of the Christian Church in China"— by John de Mosheim, Chancellor of the University of Göttingen. Mosheim apparently wrote this in 1747, but it was published in an English translation in London 1750. I understand that Percy has here revised the translation.

This work of Mosheim I have used among others, in my previous acct. of the 2nd subperiod. It is the best brief contemporary summary of the Jesuit controversy. This comprises 124 pages of the 2nd volume.

No. VI. is "The Art of Laying out Gardens among the Chine-

Ernest F. Fenollosa's "Notes for History of Influence of China upon the Western World" se." This is an extract from a book entitled "Designs of Chinese Buildings etc." by Mr. Chambers, architect. publ. in London in 1757. I will not refer to Percy's extract here, because I wish to speak of the whole work later.

No. VII. is "A description of the Empery of China's Gardens and Pleasure Houses near Peking" from the French in *Lettres Edifiantes* of Frère Attiret, the Jesuit court painter to Kienlung—written 1743—published in "*Lettres*" 1749, an English translation of part of this had been published in 1752 by Sir Harry Beaumont.*

*Attiret gives a brilliant account of the palaces and gardens of the Emperor's summer park at Jehol. Attiret's portrait of Kienlung is preserved.

I will speak of this piece, after I have mentioned the works of Sir Wm Chambers.

No. VIII. is "A Description of the Solemnities observed at Peking when the Emperor's Mother entered on the 60th year of her age". This is from a letter of Father Amiot, written in 1752, publ. in "*Lettres Edifiantes*" in 1758. This is a splendid description of a Chinese pageant, and confirms the estimates of Chinese art of Chambers and Attiret.

It is a pity that Percy never did more on Chinese than these two early works. But already, in 1761, as we know from a letter from Shenstone, Percy was already collecting the material for his ballads, which, the first ed. of the "*Reliques*" came out in 1765. Warburton and Johnson sneered at Percy. Johnson thought them as false as Ossian. Warburton sneeringly asked

whether the man Percy is the same who writes absurdities about the Chinese? Shenstone was a great friend of Percy, and there are said (Life of Percy 1867) to be many unpublished letters between them on the subject of his Chinese essays. I do not know whether Hurd and Percy corresponded. Surely Shenstone was also intimate with Sir W^m Chambers— and Chambers must have known Hurd at Court. Further investigation will probably unearth rich material; and we shall find that there was a little group of advanced thinkers in London who were working toward freedom of aesthetic conceptions along all lines, fresher interpretation of Greek, Gothic, Elizabethan Literature, new architecture, and landscape gardening, and including a sane, clear appreciation of universal value in Chinese culture; and that there was another clique, the Johnsonian, which was opposing them along the whole line, and ready to use the popular prejudice against the *heathen Chinese* to hit them in this weak spot of their armor.

We shall see this now more clearly still, when we come to the work of Sir W^m Chambers. He was born in 1726— 6 after Hurd, 3 before Percy—and died 1796. At the age of 16 he began life as supercargo to the Swedish E. India Company, and sailed to China. At Canton he studied Chinese gardens; making drawings of everything he saw. All this was before the age of 20. At that time he left the sea, and went to Italy, where he began a prolonged and systematic study of classic architecture, making himself the great authority of his day upon the pure Palladian style. This is a matter of great note. The

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very man who introduced the pure Vitruvian classic into England, is also the first European writer on Chinese architecture. In this parallelism he resembles Hurd; but, unlike Hurd, he persisted in the duality to the end.

In 1757, when he was 31, he published in magnificent folio his drawings of Chinese architecture and gardens, with some few pages of texts. 1757—Dedicated to the Prince of Wales, and in the list of subscribers are many princes and nobles. This is the book from which Percy makes extracts. In it he says, "There is remarkable affinity between Chinese architecture and that of the ancients." He had talked in China with Lepques, a celebrated painter, concerning their principle of laying out gardens. He finds that they aim to reproduce the beautiful irregularities of nature. The main point is that they try to compose a picture, as a landscape painter does, in form, mass, and color, from every point of view. Each garden is a separate creation. Minute details are gone into; and I will only say this of them, that they are all true, and are not to be found with the same keen appreciation in any other European writing to this day. Indeed this essay, and the longer one that followed later, are the finest European essays on far oriental art almost down to the present.

Chambers also says that some friends have endeavored to dissuade him from publishing this work, thinking that it may injure his reputation. Against this narrowness he protests.

Now the interesting thing is that at this very date, 1757, he was, under royal patronage, beginning to lay out the famous

Kew gardens in London. Here he consciously used a mixture, or rather alteration of the classic and Chinese styles, many pavilions and the famous pagoda being in almost pure Chinese architecture. Plates and a description of these gardens were published by him in a sumptuous folio 1763.

But already in 1759 had appeared the first edition of his greatest work— a treatise on the Decorative part of civil architecture. This is really the first great learned and practical treatise on classic architecture drawing every detail to the minutest degree, and showing how this can be applied in creating new monumental works. This view he exemplified in erecting the famous palace of Somerset House, for he was now court architect to the King and Queen. Let it be remembered that Fergusson calls Chambers the most successful architect of the 2nd half of the XVIII th C., and Somerset House the greatest architectural work of George III's reign. Chambers was an intimate friend of Goldsmith, Reynolds and Garrick.

The 2nd edition of his great work on classical architecture came in 1768, the 3rd in 1791—and the 4th long after his death in 1826. The first two editions were called "A Treatise on Civil Architecture." Mr. Smith of the Avery Library tells me that this work stands today as a classic. Even now hardly surpassed, it is not too much to say that it, and Vitruvius, stand at the base of all great practice in Roman architecture, and was the chief authority all through our American republican period (1800-1850). Its plates were used in designing the N. Y. City Hall.

These other great things Chambers did for the first time in modern England. He was the first architect to stimulate the study of Gothic architecture, he the leader of the classics! Also he was the first to claim that painting, sculpture, architecture and gardening should be treated as a single composite art, not the mere accidental conjunction of 4 professions. Also he was the first who demanded that art should not be considered as a thing apart from ordinary labor, but should be applied as a basis of design for manufactures and other industries. For this he was censured and ridiculed.

But how great Chambers was can only be inferred from the fact that, at the very summit of his career, in 1772, he issued his elaborate work entitled "A Dissertation on Oriental Gardening." In this at the age of 46 he returns to his early love, in the face of the world, and with ripe powers. He avails himself of all new material, Jesuit reports (such as Attiret) and accounts and drawings by other travellers; but his own original observation gives vitality to all. It is a magnificent essay, true in almost every particular; and written in quite a new kind of prose; rich, colored, massed, strong and picturesque, as if it belonged to the last half of the 19th C.

In this work, he is conscious of taking in middle ground in Landscape gardening between the extremes of the classicists, and the recent English naturalists. Beers shows what an important part the new landscape school of English gardening played in the origin of romanticism; which is partly ascribed to the influence of the poet Thomson—1726. Langley had recommend-

ed a natural style in his "New Principles of Gardening" as early as 1728. Mason, a friend of Gray and Hurd, in his poem "The English Garden" in 1757 speaks of French Gardening as a thing of the past. Shenstone, the friend of Percy & Chambers in 1764 wrote his "Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening," in which he declared that a landscape picture should be the key (the very principle of Chinese gardening). Shenstone produced his own garden, bit by bit, just like a Chinese master. Many people came to see his grounds; but Johnson ridiculed him, as the "artificial natural." Kent was another come-outer, who claimed to have got his idea of Gardens from Spenser's poems. In 1770 Horace Walpole wrote his "Essay on Gardening."

Now in 1772 Chambers evidently thought it time to protest against the excesses of naturalism. He ridicules the old gardens of Europe as absurdly formal. But he also complains of the new English style as insipid and vulgar, showing poverty of imagination. He says "our gardens differ very little from common fields," an open lawn with some trees standing about, having no variety of pictorial composition."

The best example of the first mean is exhibited by the Chinese, he declares. Apparently he refers also to Shenstone's garden. The essay may be summed up as a splendid defence of art versus *raw nature*, put into Chinese mouths. (He quotes the best part of Attiret, whose descriptions are well exemplified by the lantern slide which I showed at the Avery Lecture, of an ancient Japanese garden & pavilion.)

But this essay was most savagely attacked. Mason & Walpole

Ernest F. Fenollosa's "Notes for History of Influence of China upon the Western World" wrote satirical poems on it. It almost made Chambers lose his Court position. In the English Biography of Chambers this acct. is given of it.

In 1722 he made an unfortunate literary venture by publishing his "Dissertation on Oriental gardening," in which he endeavored to prove the superiority of the Chinese system of landscape gardening over that practised in Europe. This, with its absurd description of nature, its bombastic style, and its ridiculous description of the gardens of the Emperor of China, was sufficient to account for the satires which it called into life.

I do not know that the supreme significance of the work of Chambers has ever survived the rebukes of his day, or been noticed until now. I, coming as a special student of Chinese and Japanese art, certainly recognize it as a prophecy of the truth, 150 years before its proper day. Even today there are not many men in literature who would realize its supreme value for a true broad view of art. But it will be known in future.*

*After the days of these foreseeing men a great night fell on the European, but particularly the English mind. As Goethe remarked, even Sir Wm Jones by quoting the gems of poetry could hardly overcome the prejudice against everything oriental. And as Landor wrote to Southey, people believed that "everything good in oriental literature might be included in 30 or 40 lines."

We consider this 3d subperiod to close about 1810, because it was in 1811 that appeared Remusat's Essay on Chinese Language and Literature, which opens the age of Modern Sinology. Since I may not be with you, when, in this seminar, you discuss

the 19th C., I append here a very brief comment on this influence of the 4th subperiod, from 1810 to 1900.

In China, it is an age of weakness and decay. In Europe it is an age of industrial and commercial expansion. It is also an age of criticism and scholarship, and in it Sinology, as a serious study, becomes for the first time acclimated in Europe. Today we have a dozen chairs of Chinese in European Universities (though only one, alas! in America). The commercial invasion of China has been accompanied by a new wave of missionary effort, the English Protestant, whose patient pioneers have done almost as much to make Chinese known to us, as the homework of the professors. More accurate translations have appeared of the leading books in the Chinese classics, and a summary of Chinese Literature is just about to issue, from the pen of Prof. Giles.

But, though the barriers are breaking, they are not yet down. There is much more for the 20th century to accomplish. The genius of the Chinese civilization, the strength of the Chinese mind, are not yet fully understood. The Protestant missions have persisted in the old fatal policy of Rome, which crushed the hope of the Jesuits. A race bias against the "heathenism" of this people, had vitiated the best philosophic efforts to understand their philosophy. Since the days of Percy and Chambers hardly an attempt has been made to comprehend the deeper principles of their art. Even in the latest translations, their most sublime lyrics read like so much school girls' doggerel. In short, all that is vital and sensitive in the Chinese

Ernest F. Fenollosa's "Notes for History of Influence of China upon the Western World" spirit has suffered almost as much from unsympathetic handling, as Modern French art and German music from the bludgeon of a Carlyle.

The result of all this blindness and prejudice is the present tragedy at Peking. We are about to see China vivisected by those who should have been her sympathetic friends. Only Japanese, were she allowed, could stand as our official medium between East and West. Japan retains the best of the old Chinese spirit, upon which she grafts the best of the European. Hers is therefore, the pioneer experiment in solving the world-problem. Let our Ministers of State take note of this. In preparing to fear Japan, they should fear far more egregious errors from which Japan's advice might save them.

Lastly, we shall have to study the Chinese mind through Japan. Suppose that until today, in some remote Atlantic isle, (as W^m Morris pretended) a colony of Greeks had persisted with unchanged traditions and feelings. How more important for us would be one breath of that living spirit, than the attempt to resuscitate it from dead worlds! So it is of China. Her spirit lives still in Japan, can be studied in the flesh;— and yet our latest authorities search only musty tombs of 2000 years back to find the key of the East!

For America, above all, the barriers *must* be beaten down. Chinese culture has many a secret which we need. We must cross the Pacific; but we shall wreck ourselves on the farther coast—, if we strike only 400,000,000 of raw human materials, without spiritual endowment, and fit only for industrial slavery.